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CHANGE AND RESISTANCE IN SCHOOLS:
A CASE STUDY FOLLOW UP AND GENERAL SYSTEMS ANALYSIS
OF THE IMPACT OF A FEDERAL TITLE IX PROJECT
IN ONE SCHOOL DISTRICT

A Dissertation Presented

by

LEE ANNE BELL

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1982

School of Education

CHANGE AND RESISTANCE IN SCHOOLS:
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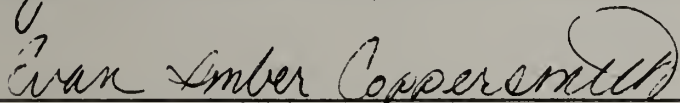
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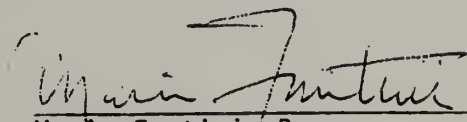
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Evan Imber Coppersmith, Member


Lawrence F. Locke, Member


Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education



Lee Anne Bell

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1982

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all the public school teachers and administrators who made this study possible. They have taught me valuable lessons about the frustrations and promises of public education which I hope will ground my future work and help me to maintain an appreciation for the realities of daily life in schools.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to thank my mentors, three very special women who helped me to discover and believe in my intellectual power - Mary Michelson, Kathy Phillips, and Evan Imber Coppersmith.

I want to express my appreciation, love, and respect for Jerry Weinstein for being uniquely himself and for making my graduate education an opportunity to discover and embrace my own uniqueness as an individual and as an educator.

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I feel extremely lucky and proud to be able to acknowledge the web of feminist energy and unconditional support that surrounded me throughout this process:

- Pat Griffin who provided love, a critical ear for my ideas, and shared experience with the dissertation process;
- Linda Marchesani whose gift of affirmation at just the right times helped me through the rough spots;
- Dee Allen and Carole Johnson who created a living space where my work could flourish and who made popcorn, ran with me, and made me laugh when it got too serious;
- Gail Crook and Ina Mitchell whose friendship, faith, and humor have sustained me through this and many other projects in my life.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to give a very special acknowledgement to my mother JoAnne Norton Bell and my grandmother Anne LaFon Valentine Norton McVaugh who pass down to me a tradition of female pride, strength, and perseverance and who always told me I could do anything I wanted to . . . and I have!

ABSTRACT

Change and Resistance in Schools:
A Case Study Follow Up and General Systems Analysis
of the Impact of a Federal Title IX Project
in One School District
(September 1982)

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The purpose of this study was to examine the forces in the daily life of one school district which affected the continuation of a federal Title IX Project once outside support was withdrawn. The focus was the change agent group (cadre) trained to continue implementation in the year following federal withdrawal and the system's response to their efforts as evidenced by interviews with other district members.

Data were collected from three sources: observations, interviews, and documents. The study was conducted over a seven month period during one school year. The observations included all meetings of the cadre, other district meetings related to sex equity, and informal observations during site visits. Field notes recorded descriptions of settings, people, conversations, interactions, and observer reactions.

Twenty-nine one-hour interviews were conducted with representatives from each level in the district: teachers, principals, superintendent and school committee, and with state and federal representatives involved in the project. Documents related to the project were collected and examined. Triangulation of the three data sources provided a checking system for determining patterns and correlations.

The data were interpreted from a general systems perspective which focused on interactional and organizational patterns rather than individual motivations and actions. Prevalent themes were identified and analyzed for their effect on continuation of the project.

The results of the study showed that the project was not sustained in the year following federal withdrawal. Failure was explained in terms of patterns which prevented the organizational changes necessary to institutionalize the innovation and which served to maintain the status quo. The maintenance patterns identified included a dysfunctional hierarchy which constricted communication and broad-based support for the project and relational patterns among teachers and administrators which prevented collaboration and implementation of project goals.

Conclusions emphasized the need for change agents to identify and match interventions to the existing organizational and cultural patterns in schools. General systems theory was suggested as a guide for assessing system rules and designing more effective interventions. Further case studies were recommended.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problem of introducing and sustaining innovations in school settings is currently engaging researchers and practitioners alike in debates over strategies, goals, and procedures (Argyris, 1979; Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Datta, 1980; Deal and Baldrige, 1974; Farrar, Desanctis, and Cohen, 1980; Sarason, 1971). A wide array of models for introducing change into schools has been developed in recent years as has a growing cadre of professional change agents who consult with public schools (Havelock, 1973; NIMH, 1976).

Despite the existing arsenal of sophisticated models and trained personnel, research on outcomes shows disappointingly few examples of actual, sustained change (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Fullan, Miles, and Taylor, 1980). Sarason's analysis of the situation is often repeated in the literature: "the more things change, the more they stay the same."

One explanation for why change and innovation are so difficult to accomplish in schools is the lack of descriptive data about what actually happens in schools when change is attempted (Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein, 1971; Sarason, 1971; Smith and Keith, 1971). Not enough information exists on the relationship between stated goals and outcomes achieved over the long run or on what results do occur whether stated goals are achieved or not. Research on outcomes of innovation efforts is typically based on short term evaluations and

standardized measures of predetermined categories. Often these results are construed differently by different researchers (Datta, 1980; Farrar, Desanctis, and Cohen, 1980; Rivlin and Timpane, 1975) and often have little concrete usefulness to teachers and administrators seeking to improve their methods (Patton, 1980). What is missing in such studies is a description of the whole with enough rich detail to capture the reality of the school culture and to ground theories which might illuminate the practitioner's plight (Deal and Baldrige, 1974; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Patton, 1980; Sarason, 1971).

A second explanation for the large percentage of failure in efforts to create change in schools is the bias toward individual solutions or what Katz and Kahn (1966) call the "psychological fallacy." This bias focuses on individual motivations and actions to explain social reality and ignores the complexity of larger systems with properties which encompass and supersede individual motivation and behavior. From this perspective it is not enough to intervene with individual teachers or administrators to create change in schools. Change efforts must attend to and attempt to alter the broader system patterns or "programmatic regularities" which influence and are influenced by the change process (Sarason, 1971; Watzlawick, 1971).

Both of these explanations, the lack of descriptive data about what actually goes on in schools and the bias toward individual motivations and actions, highlight the need for clearer description of the culture of the school as both perceived by its inhabitants and defined by its patterns and structure. The qualitative research methods of

descriptive analysis: naturalistic observation, ethnography, and case study provide tools for mining this data source.

Fortunately, some recent studies adopt a systemic perspective and begin to uncover useful information about the course of innovation efforts in schools (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978, 1979; Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein, 1971; Smith and Keith, 1971). These researchers are discovering that creating change in the complex system of a school is not as linear or as individual a process as once believed. McLaughlin and Marsh (1980) in their review of the findings of two studies, the Rand Study and IDEA, found that individual characteristics of teachers and administrators are not as significant as the interactional patterns developed and reinforced by the intervention and the organizational characteristics of the system in which the intervention takes place.

Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1970) in their case study of an elementary school suggest that belief in a direct causal link between initiation and outcome is simplistic:

the necessary prerequisites for the successful initiation of change . . . do not represent a sufficient set of requirements for the successful implementation of innovations (emphasis mine, p. 208).

Clearly the process of change is much more complex, dynamic, and circular than previously imagined, and organizational and interpersonal patterns during the implementation phase must be examined. Case study descriptions highlighting the daily and mundane processes which influence the course of change in schools place individual perceptions and actions within an interactional and organizational context.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe in depth the after-effects of an innovation effort in one school district once outside intervention and support had ended. The specific focus was on factors in the daily life of the school which reinforced or inhibited change over the long run. The study was designed to counter the problem of individual bias by focusing on the patterns of interaction among people and the context in which these interactions occurred rather than individual motivations and actions. The study also was designed to counter the problem of inadequate description by using the methods of qualitative research. These methods which include naturalistic observation, interviewing, and document analysis, provide tools for describing a setting and its inhabitants in rich detail.

Three aspects of the school culture identified as significant by the Rand Study (1974-1978) contributed pieces to the puzzle examined in this study:

- 1) How member of the system defined the progress of the innovation over time - the perceptions, personal theories and interpretations about what the innovation meant and what it accomplished from the perspective of representative members of the school culture shed light on the rules and patterns of the system.
- 2) How patterns of interaction among members of the system defined the progress of the innovation over time - the communication patterns and interpersonal, intergroup

interactions which occurred and did not occur in relation to the innovation also illuminated the rules of the system.

- 3) How system rules or "programmatic regularities" defined the progress of the innovation over time - the organizational patterns, policies, and procedures both formal and informal which impacted upon and circumscribed the innovation defined the system's steady state or equilibrium.

Again, the focus of description and analysis was interactional and contextual patterns rather than individual motivations, attitudes, or roles. Individual motivations, attitudes, and roles were examined in terms of their function in the larger context.

The theoretical questions which guided this analysis were stated at the outset. One: "What are the factors in the daily life of a school which operate to sustain an innovation until it is incorporated as an ongoing part of the system?" Two: "What are the factors in the daily life of a school which operate to attenuate or extinguish an innovation such that the system itself remains unchanged?"

Definitions

Innovation. The introduction of alternative methods, procedures, patterns, and structures such that previous methods, procedures, patterns, and structures are irrevocably altered or replaced by new methods, procedures, patterns, and structures.

Patterns. Programmatic or behavioral regularities which "organize and govern roles and interrelationships in a system and which define

the permissible ways in which goals and problems will be approached" (Sarason, 1971, p. 12).

System. A "bounded collection of interdependent parts, devoted to the accomplishment of some goal or goals, with the parts maintained in a steady state in relation to each other and the environment by means of (1) standard modes of operation, and (2) feedback from the environment about the consequences of system actions" (Miles, 1964, p. 13). This organized structure antedates and will continue in the absence of any one individual.

Sustained change. The acceptance of an innovation such that it becomes integrated into the system as a self-renewing and internally supported part of the system.

Extinguished change. The demise of an innovation over time as surface commitments and superficial changes fade.

Background of the Study

In 1978 the Blue Range School System became involved in a comprehensive innovation effort aimed at instituting sex equity in district policies, curriculum, and instruction. The effort was introduced and directed by the Center for Educational Equity (CEE), a federally funded agency with a mandate to assist local school districts in following Title IX regulations.*

*The names of the school district and federal agency have been changed to protect the confidentiality of individuals involved in this study.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 reads:

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance (Public Law 92-318).

The scope of the law includes students, professional staff, and support staff in any public school from preschool through graduate school and "is the most far reaching civil rights law with regard to the numbers of individuals protected that has ever been enacted in the United States" (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1977).

The federal assistance centers, of which CEE was one example, were charged with educating local districts about Title IX and training them to implement new policies, procedures, curriculum, and instructional strategies which met the standards of the new law. To this end, CEE provided money, consultants, technical assistance, materials, and training to participating districts upon request.

The CEE approach was a representative case of federal innovation efforts at the local level. The model they followed can be categorized as one of "multi-lateral accommodation" currently used by federal change agents (Datta, 1980). This model conceptualizes change as an interaction between federal directives and local needs. Within a broad federal mandate, in this case Title IX, local resources are developed which meet the general objectives set by the government.

The purpose of the CEE program in the Blue Range Schools was to assess the district's initial position with regard to compliance with Title IX, negotiate objectives for correcting areas in which the district was out of compliance, and provide the necessary training and

technical assistance for achieving the objectives established. The change effort lasted for three years and included the following sequence of stages:

1) Introduction of CEE program and services. In September 1978 an initial contact with the superintendent of Blue Range was made by a CEE field representative to introduce the CEE program and its services. Upon request from the district CEE would begin to provide services. Within one week, the superintendent had received school committee approval to formally request CEE's services.

2) Needs assessment. A needs assessment or "compliance review" was conducted by two CEE field representatives at a meeting attended by a sample population of the district as requested by CEE. The committee included the superintendent, the Title IX Coordinator, school committee members, principals, teachers, physical education and athletic department staff, and guidance staff.

3) Negotiation of district objectives for achieving equity. A formal report of the needs assessment was written by CEE and provided to the district. This report was used as a basis for negotiating objectives for meeting the requirements of Title IX and formulating training and technical assistance needs and services.

4) From May 1979 to May 1981 CEE provided the Blue Range schools with technical assistance, training, and materials. The chart on the following page outlines the services provided by CEE during this period.

DIAGRAM 1: Overview of CEE Intervention Steps in Blue Range 1979-81

Personnel	Dates	Duration	Content
A. District managers	Ongoing	2-3 times mo.	technical assistance
B. School committee	Spring 1980	1 evening	legal issues and educational effects
C. Administration and guidance	Summer 1980	2 days	legal issues, educational effects, change strategies
D. Physical education and athletics	Summer 1980	2 days	legal issues, educational effects, change strategies
E. Students	Fall 1980	½ day	legal issues, student rights, effects of discrimination
F. Teachers and Aides	Fall 1980	1 day	legal issues, educational effects, change strategies in curriculum and teacher behavior
G. Cadre of volunteer teachers from all three levels	Spring 1981	5 days	problemsolving, action planning, designing interventions in politics, curriculum and instruction

The technical assistance (a) was provided upon request and in an ongoing and regular manner particularly during the first year of CEE's involvement in Blue Range. CEE staff averaged one to two meetings a month with central staff, primarily the superintendent and Title IX Coordinator. These meetings dealt with administrative issues including employment practices, disciplinary and student policies, and district procedures. They resulted in the planning of a district affirmative action policy and revision of the grievance procedure. The meetings also aided the superintendent in providing technical knowledge and direction toward implementation of the objectives established in the needs assessment.

The training (B - F) included knowledge of the law; awareness of the educational implications of sex discrimination and stereotyping; the effects on students in terms of self-image, mastery of content in various subject areas and future achievement in the workforce; as well as strategies for beginning to remedy the situation through changing curriculum, interaction patterns, and policies.

The cadre training (G) was the most intensive and in-depth training in the district. Training concentrated on developing in-house expertise and cross-level support among a group of teachers representing a cross-section of the system in terms of subject matter and grade level. These teachers met approximately once a month with a consultant to learn collaborative approaches to solving problems and to develop solutions to increase sex equity in their schools and classrooms. In between these sessions the groups met on their own to continue sharing problems and collaborating on generating solutions

to the problems they encountered. The goal of this training was to create a sample of proven procedures for addressing sex bias in schools and to develop a trained group who could continue problem solving and disseminate training to others in their district.

The cadre members created a variety of projects and strategies for implementing sex equity. These projects were compiled and published by CEE for distribution to other districts seeking approaches to the problem. The group ended the year with plans for continuing as a group in the following year. The CEE director described the cadre projects as the most exciting she had seen and recommended that the superintendent continue to support their efforts. In a final session with the cadre teachers in May 1981 the superintendent confirmed his support for their efforts and stated his intentions to continue to support their efforts the following year.

CEE's involvement in Blue Range terminated prematurely in May 1981 when federal money was awarded to a different center. In summarizing their work in the district, CEE concluded that steps had been taken to achieve compliance with Title IX, policy changes had been made, sufficient awareness existed and sufficient staff were trained to carry on implementation of sex equity on their own. Blue Range was considered a model district and the project developed by the cadre members was printed for distribution throughout the region.

This study followed the Blue Range School District during the 1981-82 school year to examine whether or not sex equity continued to be practiced in line with the changes made in the previous years and if new changes would continue to be generated as required to make sex

equity a reality in Blue Range. This detailed background is provided as a framework for examining the data collected in this study.*

Need for the Study

Literally millions of dollars and enormous amounts of time and energy are being devoted to implementing change in schools (Rand Study, 1974-78). The federal government alone accounts for a large percentage of these programs. Add to this state, local, and private innovation activities and the scope of the field can begin to be imagined.

If little actual, sustained change in schools is occurring as a result of these efforts, then an in-depth description of what is occurring may yield important information for future planning and policy-making. More particularly, the theories which might be grounded on such a description may make it possible to generate models for post-intervention support and reinforcement which could immensely improve the long term return from innovation efforts.

Finally, Sarason cautions about the cumulative effect of failure on a system. "The fate of a single proposal for change cannot be understood apart from all other proposals for change" (1967, p. 229). As schools build up a history of involvement in innovation efforts, careful

*Background information for this section was gathered from three sources: (1) personal communication with CEE staff involved in the Blue Range Project; (2) examination of CEE files and documents on Blue Range; and (3) the author's personal experience as a consultant to the cadre component of the project.

and detailed evaluation of those efforts becomes increasingly important not only for understanding what actually occurs but for utilizing this knowledge in future planning. This study is intended to contribute to this process.

Significance of the Study

Many of the follow up studies which currently exist are short term and rely on standardized measures rather than direct observation and long term follow-up. Several authors discuss the discrepancies which may arise between reported change and actual behavior (Argyris, 1979; Lighthall, 1973; Farrar, Desanctis, and Cohen, 1980; Patton, 1980). Direct, long-term observation of the results of a change effort may yield more information regarding possible discrepancies between intended and actual outcomes as well as other data which bear on the case but might be missed by more directed, short-term evaluation measures (Patton, 1980).

In-depth observations in a school during the year after a major change effort has occurred can shed light on the processes of change and resistance which do not show up on questionnaires or structured interviews based on predetermined categories. Usually such studies focus on whether or not the intended outcome was achieved. It may be useful to examine the events in the ongoing life of a school after external support is withdrawn. What are the events which determine the real life of a change? What supports or constraints operate in the daily environment to impede or encourage change? What happens after all the experts leave?

The dearth of descriptive accounts of the long-term results of innovation efforts in schools supports the need for further study of the processes in the natural life of schools as they negotiate change over time. Further, there is need for observation and analysis which goes beyond a focus on individuals and takes into account the broader interactional and systemic context within which individual perceptions and actions are framed. Detailed study of the results of an innovation effort once outside support is withdrawn, with a focus on the organizational patterns of the system, may shed light on the processes of adoption and resistance in schools which determine whether change is sustained or extinguished over the long run.

Summary

Innovation and change projects in schools encounter many difficulties. Results to date have been disappointing in comparison to the amount of effort, time, and money expended. Arguments have been made for more descriptive long-term follow-up to change efforts and greater understanding of the complexities of the school culture. A focus on organizational properties rather than attributes of individuals in schools has been a frequent recommendation of those who have actively examined the literature on change project evaluation.

This study provides a descriptive account of one school district following an innovation project. The perceptions of individuals involved in the project are examined in the context of their interactions with others in the system and the organizational patterns which provided the context for this change effort. The focus is on those

organizational and interactional factors which sustained or impeded continuation of the innovation introduced during the previous two years of the district's involvement with an outside change agent.

The resulting descriptive data is employed to generate hypotheses about the process of change and innovation in schools and the factors which sustain or extinguish change over time. A system's framework for understanding the process of change is presented.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter will review the research on factors which influence the course of innovation in public schools. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides a brief overview of perspectives and research on innovation and change in schools from 1950 to the present. The second section presents current research and theory on the stages of innovation in school settings. The findings are presented under the categories: initiation, implementation, and continuation. The third section presents a paradigm for understanding change in schools that is drawn from general systems theory.

Section One: Background

Perspectives on the process of change and innovation in schools have gone through several phases in the past three decades. The trend has been a series of shifts in focus from single variables such as the characteristics of the innovation, the characteristics of individual "adopters," and the role definition and skills of the change agent, to multiple variables such as the interacting role systems in schools, the leadership and political structure and the interactional patterns and organizational properties which encompass individual characteristics and which mutually define the setting. A parallel shift evident from a historical perspective is one from unilateral

top-down initiation of change toward one of mutual accommodation and interactional design.

During the late fifties and early sixties the innovation efforts centered in federal and university based research and development centers had an individual focus and a unilateral conception of change. The history of this stage is reviewed by Rogers (1962) and Rogers and Shoemaker (1971). Based on the agricultural diffusion model, innovation initially consisted of developing and packaging new methods and ideas and then providing them to schools. The independent variable was the innovation itself. When schools failed to use the method or used it improperly the focus shifted to identifying characteristics of effective users (Carlson, 1965). Implementation was a process of finding the "right" user or training individuals to become better "adopters." Early staff development models used this approach with little success.

Deal and Baldrige (1974) critique this model of innovation on several counts. They argue that the individual bias neglects the implications for adoption and implementation that arise because individuals are enmeshed in a social system. Furthermore, they argue that the social/psychological bias creates a paradox for change agents "put in the impossible position of trying to manipulate people to bring about structural changes" (p. 4). Finally, they assert that the lack of a problem-oriented focus leads to the suggestion of guidelines and actions that may suit the ideal but have little practical value in the real school culture.

When the focus on characteristics of the innovation and the focus on characteristics of the adopter failed to adequately explain how to effect change in schools, the next step was to focus on the role in between. The independent variable became the change agent or "linking agent." Hood and Cates (1978) describe three roles for the linking agent: process helper, resource provide, and solution giver. Again, the emphasis is on unilateral, top-down change.

The sixties and early seventies marked a burgeoning of organizational development (OD) efforts in public schools. This period is the subject of an extensive review by Fullan, Miles, and Taylor (1980). OD interventions in schools have taken a variety of forms: training individuals or groups either in an in-service capacity or in a laboratory setting away from the schools (Argyris, 1979); working with the leadership and administrative structure within the school setting (Cohen and Gadon, 1978; Francisco, 1979; Sergiovanni, 1979); and working with role groups and both their internal and intergroup interactions (Keys and Bartunek, 1979; Tjosvold, 1978). Strategies have included leadership and decision making skills, collaborative problem solving, communication skills, and the effective use of feedback, human relations training, and conflict resolution. All of these skills have the purpose of improving the "health" of the organization and the interactions among people within the organization.

Several OD studies conducted in schools over the past ten years identify factors that support and impede change. The focus on process used by OD consultants provides useful information about how schools function in relation to outside intervention. These studies are reviewed

in the next section on the stages in the innovation process. Within the field of OD a shift from training individuals to a structural/task focus can be seen in recent years. More systematic OD approaches contribute greatly to the understanding of the unique structural and functional characteristics of schools.

The review by Fullan, Miles, and Taylor concludes that at best a 50% success rate can be reported with OD efforts in schools. They contended that partly the results are flawed because of faulty research methodology, failure to provide long range follow-up, and the lack of clear definitions and procedures among various OD approaches. Others have criticized the problem solving approach as too vague and incomplete because the function of problems in a larger context is omitted (Lighthall, 1973) and because underlying patterns in the school culture seem to override local problem solving strategies (Datta, 1980).

Sarason (1971) was one of the first educational researchers to attempt to elaborate an explicit theory of change grounded in the realities of the school culture and to begin to examine the complexity of the change process in the dynamic setting of a school. Through observations and work with schools in a helping relationship he began to gather descriptive data on how change is formulated and carried out within the school setting itself. He concluded that the course of innovation in schools is determined by "programmatic regularities" that define the institutional culture and that translate the innovation in unique ways to this setting.

Four recent studies point to the primacy of what happens at the school level in determining the fate of an innovation and begin to suggest a systemic model for understanding the process of change and innovation in schools. Smith and Keith (1971) and Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971) conducted case studies in individual schools which applied a social systems perspective to the problem of change in these settings. These two studies show that neither the characteristics of the innovation, nor the intentions of individuals are as important as the patterns of interaction and latent functions of the school culture through which the innovation passes. These studies shift the focus to an examination of the school culture itself and the ways in which it supports and restrains innovation and change. Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein conclude that the leadership role of management needs to be congruent with the innovation and suggest that the authority structure of the school may need to be altered but they make no further suggestions as to how this might be determined or accomplished.

The Rand Study (1974-1978) was the first major research effort to study change and innovation across school settings. Data were collected through interviews and field site visits and through distributing questionnaires to 225 federally funded projects across the United States. In a second phase, 29 case studies were conducted in a sample of districts drawn from this pool. A major purpose of the study was to examine why some schools are more effective than others in implementing an innovation and to discover the patterns which support or hinder change at the local level. One major finding was that the

characteristics of innovations and the federal role and guidelines are insignificant compared to what the school does with an innovation.

The next section summarizes the findings of the Rand Study, supplemented by other pertinent research, with regard to the factors that encourage and discourage innovation at the school level. The findings are presented under three categories: initiation, implementation, and continuation.

Section Two: Stages in the Innovation Process

Initiation. Initiation refers to the stage in the innovation process at which a change is first introduced. Fullan, Miles, and Taylor (1980) in their review of the literature on OD in schools characterize this stage in terms of the system's "readiness." Readiness according to the OD literature includes: "stable environmental conditions . . . an initial propensity for collective problem solving among people in the system . . . and the belief on the part of key people from each level in the district that their efforts will pay off." (Fullan, Miles, and Taylor, 1980). Bassin and Gross (1978) suggest a different approach for large urban school systems where such readiness may not exist (in Fullan, Miles, and Taylor, 1980). They see practicality and a clear task focus as key in the initial stages. Fullan, Miles, and Taylor argue this is probably true for more and more schools as the external environment becomes less and less predictable.

Some researchers emphasize leadership as the most significant factor during the initiation stage. Carlson (1965) argues that the active support of the superintendent is the most critical factor to

the successful introduction of a change effort. Porterfield and Porterfield (1979) assert that the building principal is the key leader and that without her/his support a change will not be successfully initiated. Cohen and Gadon (1978) also focus on working with the administrative structure to create change. A consistent finding in all of these studies is that not only administrative support but active involvement and clear understanding of what the change means is essential to success (Milstein, 1978).

Other researchers believe that multiple levels of support for an innovation must be cultivated in the initiation stage. Lighthall (1973) says that an innovation must match the multiple realities of the system and meet a variety of interests including teachers, administrators, and students. Williams (1980) adds that the innovation needs to be perceived as in the self-interest of each group in the system in order for it to be successfully initiated.

Berman and McLaughlin (1978) examined these factors in their report of the results of the Rand Study. They found that initiation of an innovation was "a complex interplay among organizational forces, political pressures, personal motivations, and educational concerns" (p. 14). Most important to the successful initiation of a project were two related factors: how initial planning was conducted and how support for the project was generated. These factors reflect the underlying "motivation" of the system for becoming involved in a particular project.

The Rand Study identified four patterns of support depending on which components of the district were mobilized and how planning was initiated:

- 1) opportunism - this term describes "behavior whose sole purpose was to bring federal money into the district, regardless of federal intentions and usually regardless of the interests of the staff, or the educational needs of the district" (p. 11).
- 2) top-down support - this term describes circumstances where "the central office staff genuinely sought to improve educational practices but failed to mobilize the support of school staff" (p. 15).
- 3) localized support - this term describes the situation where "the enthusiasm and efforts of 'grass roots' staff were not matched at the central office level" (p. 15).
- 4) broad-based support - "the situation in which all levels of the district backed the project" (p. 15).

Of these, the support pattern most likely to lead to successful innovation is broad-based support. Furthermore, Berman and McLaughlin found that the kind of support generated during the initiation phase critically affects all other stages of the process. This finding is supported by the studies reviewed by Fullan, Miles, and Taylor (1980).

Implementation. This stage in the innovation process involves the "translation of project plans and proposals into practice" (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). Aspects of implementation identified in the literature as significant to the success or failure of a project include:

- the focus, content, and scope of training
- the type of outside assistance provided
- the patterns of interaction among project teachers and administrators
- the duration of outside support
- teacher characteristics
- organizational characteristics

Focus, content, and scope of training. Many researchers state that in order to achieve project success training should focus on concrete and specific skills (Argyris, 1979; Datta, 1980; Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein, 1971; Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). Scheinfeld (1979) adds that the emphasis should be on task and planning issues and on definite short term results especially in urban districts. Although initial training may focus on creating awareness of a problem or issue, teachers ultimately need a clear map of specific strategies in order to implement an innovation (Argyris, 1979). This map should "match the day to day responsibilities of teachers" (McLaughlin and Marsh, 1980), and should be perceived as helpful in addressing existing problems (Francisco, 1979). Scheinfeld (1979) argues that effective intervention is issue oriented and occurs at three levels simultaneously: classroom, organizational climate, and school-community relations. Runkel and Schmuck (1976) suggest that a clear sequence from initial awareness and skills training to a structural and task focus is most effective. Once teachers see a need for and understand an innovation they need to spend time adapting it to their own style and setting.

Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein (1971) in their case study of innovation in an elementary school support these suggestions. They found the following blocks to implementation: teachers had no clear image of role performance expectations with regard to the innovation, no clear understanding of the innovation itself and lacked the specific skills and knowledge necessary to carry it out. In addition, these researchers noted that "incompatible organizational conditions" were an additional block to implementation.

Berman and McLaughlin (1978) suggest that conceptual clarity is developed through "heuristic learning" which allows teachers to try out new projects and clarify, adapt, and anchor their understandings as they go. This process of "reinventing the wheel" or "learning by doing" is important for maintaining both a coherent project vision and a clear idea of what the change requires in concrete terms. For this reason pre-packaged programs are seen as ineffective because they do not provide the flexibility for this learning and adaptation process to occur.

Berman and McLaughlin also found that too narrow and concrete a focus could inhibit implementation of an innovation. Their study discovered that challenging projects which called for changes in teacher behavior from traditional practices and demanded extra effort were more likely to succeed than routine projects. They concluded that:

Teachers rise to challenges. Ambitious and demanding innovations seem more likely to elicit the commitment of teachers than routine projects. This is so in part because these projects appeal to the teachers' sense of professionalism; that is, we believe a primary motivation for teachers to undertake the extra work and disruption of attempting change is the belief that they will become 'better' teachers and that their students will benefit (p. 25).

They caution that these are necessary but not sufficient conditions for effective innovation.

Type of outside assistance. The Rand Study found that outside consultants were typically seen by local people as ineffective. Their assistance was considered too general, untimely, and irrelevant to the problems of the individual system or classroom. Datta (1980),

however, argues that qualified outside assistance that is tailored to the specific needs of the system or classroom is one of the most important factors in project success and interprets the Rand data to show that local problem solving without qualified outside assistance is not enough. Both of these interpretations point to the need for an effective match between outside assistance and local needs.

Fullan, Miles, and Taylor (1978) support this and state that proactive use of consultants is positively related to effective implementation. Cohen and Gadon (1978) add that the consultant needs to relate to all groups equally and be perceived as an effective mediator of competing interests. Also, according to Milstein (1978) there should be a strong emphasis on developing internal capacity to train and recruit new participants in the innovation and cites the problems which arose in his study because there was too much reliance on the outside consultant.

Patterns of interaction among project teachers and administrators.

Several researchers point to the importance of group process in implementation of an innovation at the local level. Fullan, Miles, and Taylor (1980) and Berman and McLaughlin (1978) suggest that effective innovation requires the development of a local group of people or "critical mass" who can provide continued focus, support, and impetus. This group should have regular meetings for sharing and support (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978), should be involved in identifying problems and planning solutions (McLaughlin and Marsh, 1980), and should be involved in all aspects of project decision

making (Datta, 1980). An effective change agent group should also be a representative composite of the school system (Schmuck, 1978).

As important as all of the above factors is the effectiveness of the group coordinator (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Schmuck, 1979). This person needs to be recognized as competent by the group, able to provide leadership and support in facilitating group efforts (Morhrman, Mohrman, Cooke, and Duncan, 1977), and able to effectively relate to all the various subsystems in the school (Schmuck and Runkel, 1976). According to the Rand Study, the project director or coordinator is especially important once outside change agents are gone and is one of the most critical factors in the ultimate continuation of a project.

Duration of outside support. One of the Rand Study's most significant findings for federal change agents was the amount of time required for successful implementation of an innovation. According to their findings, a change effort requires a minimum of three and preferably five to seven years of ongoing support and assistance. These findings are supported by Schmuck (1979) and Fullan, Miles, and Taylor (1978; 1980).

Teacher characteristics. The Rand Study examined a number of school and teacher characteristics including academic, ethnic, economic and social makeup, size and stability of staff, and prior experience with innovation. They found only three factors to be significant: level, years of teaching, and "sense of efficacy." Change was found to be most difficult at the secondary level. They speculated that the subject orientation of secondary teachers restricts

the integration and use of new ideas and methods that are not directly related to content. Conversely they argue that the child-centered orientation attributed to elementary teachers provides more flexibility in experimenting with change.

They also found that number of years of teaching had a negative effect on the implementation process. They suggested that veteran teachers may "resign" themselves to a status quo they are unwilling or unable to change. This characteristic can be related to what Berman and McLaughlin call "sense of efficacy." Teachers who believe in their own power and ability to effect change are more likely to implement and continue an innovation. These findings prompt the question, "how do patterns in the school culture shape teacher belief in their ability to create change?"

Organizational characteristics. Several organizational characteristics which increase the effectiveness of implementation are cited in the literature. One characteristic frequently mentioned is the need for a reward structure that provides recognition for efforts (Erlandson, 1980). Berman and McLaughlin (1978) found, however, that pay for training was not a significant factor and could even have a negative effect on outcomes. They suggest that pay for training misconstrues teacher motivation and that extrinsic rewards cannot stimulate the commitment of teachers if they don't see it to be in their professional self-interest to participate. Based on these findings stipends may provide added incentive but cannot in and of themselves mobilize commitment that isn't already there.

Reward is more basically tied to system patterns of support and encouragement for innovation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978; Fullan, Miles, and Taylor, 1980). Schools that acknowledge and value staff participation in innovation activities, that provide "an internally sustained staff reward structure," and that encourage "professional recognition" are more likely to succeed in implementing change (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978).

Other significant and related factors found in the Rand Study are the importance of having the principal's support and participation in training, high morale, and effective district management. These findings are supported by the OD studies as well. All of these factors are mutually influential in creating an organizational climate that is conducive to change and innovation.

Conclusions. According to Berman and McLaughlin, all of the factors mentioned as significant during the implementation phase of an innovation can be condensed into one key phrase: "adaptation at the user's level." In summarizing their findings, they identified three processes which determined both the extent to which adaptation occurred in a project and its institutional setting and its ultimate success or failure:

- 1) nonimplementation - occurred when a project neither altered its setting or was adapted to it. Projects either broke down because they were overly planned and regimented or were ignored by users because they were not seen as relevant to classroom concerns.
- 2) cooptation - occurred when the staff adapted a project to meet their own needs without any corresponding change in behavior or practices.

- 3) mutual adaptation - occurred when both the project and the setting were changed to accommodate each other.

Mutual adaptation is described as a complex process full of problems and modifications that required "considerable support from project staff and from district personnel" (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978, p. 17). This dynamic process, according to the Rand Study, is the only one that leads to teacher change. "Teachers changed as they (and only as they) worked to modify the project's design to suit their particular school or classroom" (Ibid, p. 17).

Continuation. The continuation stage of an innovation "marks the final transition of a change agent project to an accepted part of regular district operations or to its ultimate disappearance" (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). One concrete milestone which often marks this transition is the withdrawal of external funding and the decision by the local system about whether or not to continue support of the project.

The prospects for success at this stage can be traced to events in the previous two stages. Thus, if teachers have not understood and successfully adapted a project to their school and classroom needs, if the internal project leader is not perceived as effective, if the change agent group is not visible to and valued by the system, if institutional support from both the principal and top district officials is missing and if school climate prevents communication and collaboration, then for any one of these reasons, the project ultimately will fail to become institutionalized.

School climate appeared to be especially important to diffusion of the innovation to others in the system. The willingness of the change agent group to recruit and train others and to share ideas and expertise was largely a function of school climate and norms of professional sharing and communication that facilitated this process (Fullan, Miles, and Taylor, 1980).

Schmuck (1978) reported on a five year OD effort in two Oregon school districts which attempted to create such an organizational climate by training peer cadres in OD skills such as communication, problem solving, and action planning. The results of this study show that although OD skills are important they are not enough to institutionalize change. District structural patterns of support have to be altered. In one district, the project was disbanded after five years due to budget problems. In the other district the project survived because the district hired a full time coordinator and rotated several half time positions, thus institutionalizing support through budget and staff commitment.

Institutionalization requires dual level commitment: a staff that understands and will use the innovation in their schools and classrooms and district officials who will support the innovation in budget and staff assignments (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). The Rand Study categorized the paths followed by change agent projects after federal funding ended into four types:

- 1) discontinuation - occurred when neither level, building staff or district officials, continued the project after federal funding ended.

- 2) isolated continuation - occurred when isolated pockets of teachers continued to use an innovation without district support. These teachers remained vulnerable to staff turnover and budget constraints and had difficulty sustaining themselves over the long run.
- 3) pro forma continuation - occurred when official district policy supported the innovation but teachers either did not really use project ideas or used them only in a ritualistic sense.
- 4) institutionalized change - occurred when both district level officials and building level staff continued to use and support the innovation by integrating it into key areas of district operation including budget, staff assignment, curriculum planning, and instructional programming.

Berman and McLaughlin offer the following diagram to trace the paths an innovation may follow through the three stages (1978, p. 17) (see Diagram 2).

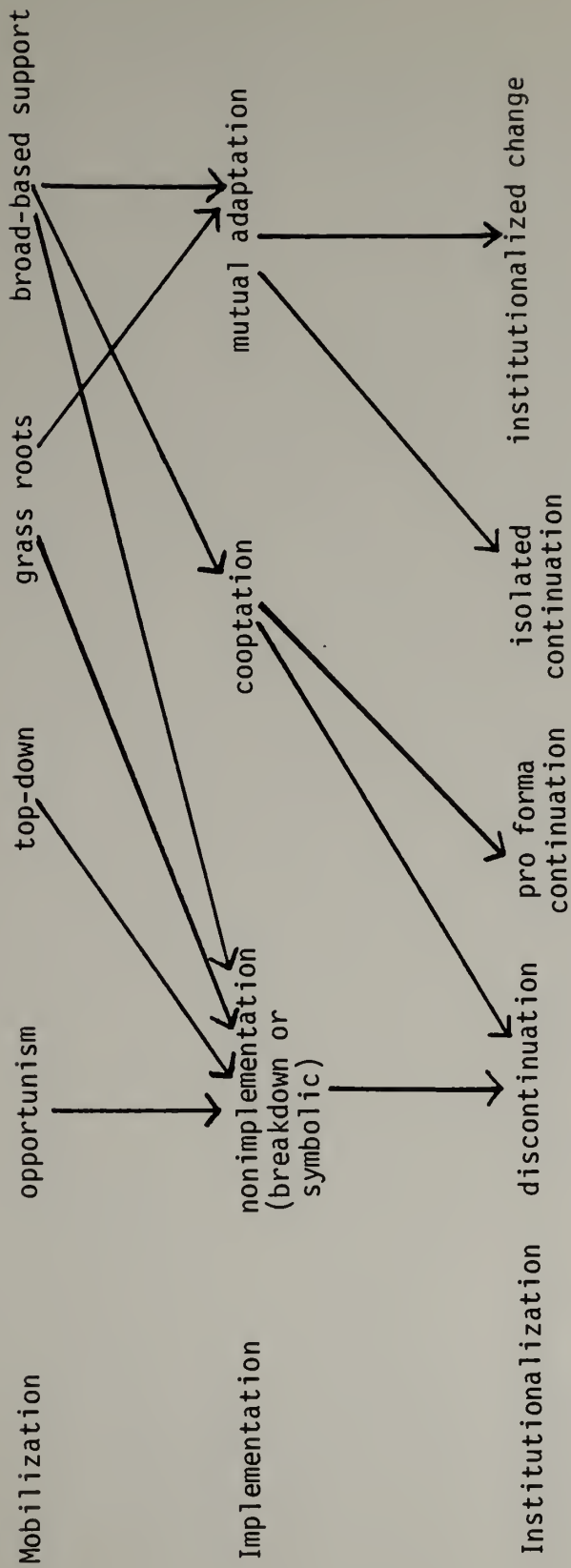
Section Three: A System's Perspective

On Change and Innovation in Schools

The assertion still is made that even with appropriate district support, effective implementation strategies and committed teachers, true change continues to elude a large majority of change efforts (Sarason, 1971). The course of federal and private innovation efforts in the past ten years supports this assertion. Various explanations have been posed for the tenacity of school resistance to change. Most of these focus on the school district itself since research to date has shown that what matters most is not what goes into the district but what the district does with it.

Bridges (1968) names three factors in the culture of the school that prevent innovation: (1) the norms of the teacher culture that

DIAGRAM 2: The Paths of An Innovation



support professional autonomy and isolation and that discourage risk-taking and trial-and-error experimentation, (2) the organizational properties of the school bureaucracy that include a dysfunctional hierarchy in which those who have to implement change at the building level have the least to say about what types of changes should occur, and (3) an external environment characterized by power politics that override educational decisions. He concludes that given these factors, true change is unlikely.

Change strategies to date focus on one or more of the levels outlined by Bridges. Models which can account for all of the levels and the interaction among levels have yet to be fully developed. As a result of conducting the Rand Study, Berman and McLaughlin (1979) attempted to develop a theoretical framework that explains change in schools from a general systems perspective. Bell (1981) makes a similar case in her analysis of schools from a structural and functional systems model. This perspective integrates previous theories of leadership, group process, and cultural patterns and takes the analysis to a different, more comprehensive level.

Drawing upon the constructs of general systems theory, Berman and McLaughlin examine schools as open systems. They use Miles' definition:

A bounded collection of interdependent parts, devoted to the accomplishment of some goal or goals, with the parts maintained in a steady state in relation to each other, and the environment by means of (1) standard modes of operation, and (2) feedback from the environment about the consequences of system actions (p. 7).

As open systems schools can respond to demands for change in one of two ways: by maintaining their core internal arrangements in the

face of external and internal pressures, or by changing their internal arrangements to create a new state of equilibrium. As open systems, schools are constantly adapting to both internal and external "inputs" in a dynamic process of equilibration.

Berman and McLaughlin hypothesized that school districts could be classified according to their characteristic modes of adaptive behavior. They suggested that schools could be categorized as either "maintenance steady states" or as "development steady states." School districts characterized as "maintenance steady states" would tend to adapt in ways that maintain their core internal arrangement. Such districts represent how "the more things change, the more they stay the same." Districts characterized as "development steady states" would tend toward modifying or rearranging their internal arrangements as needed to respond more effectively to feedback that change is required.

In order to test these hypotheses, Berman and McLaughlin studied five school districts to examine how each district adapted to five core dilemmas:

- 1) diversity vs. uniformity
- 2) centralization vs. decentralization
- 3) open vs. closed boundaries
- 4) delivery vs. nondelivery goals
- 5) stability vs. change

The districts they examined in which change was incorporated to maintain a status quo rather than alter internal patterns exhibited the following common properties:

delivery uniformity: procedures were routinized in ways that discouraged diversity in teaching practices;

loose coupling: schools were isolated from each other and from central administration and were characterized by lack of trust, a segmented decision-making structure and top-down authority relationships;

subordination of delivery concerns: bureaucratic and political concerns predominated and an overriding goal was to protect the system from internal conflict or external threat;

closed boundary: the system attempted to seal itself off from outside pressures and influences through "ignoring, absorbing, coopting, or isolating pressures." Such a focus kept the system in a constant state of "reactivity."

stability as constraint: control and reward structures promoted conformity, formal authority relations, and incremental, "safe" decision making (p. 61). These five characteristics served to maintain a status quo and were mutually reinforcing in a circular process that led to no change.

The school districts they characterized as "development steady states" had the following common properties:

delivery diversity: support and incentives existed for variety in teaching styles, peer interactions, and "professionalism;"

integrated loose coupling: decision making power was dispersed throughout the system and feedback channels were routinely used to allow central coordination, monitoring, and support;

primacy of delivery concerns: political and bureaucratic concerns were seen as strategic means to achieve delivery goals which were primary;

boundary openness: steps were taken to strike a pragmatic balance between broad based community support and the maintenance of professional autonomy. The system was proactive in regulating its boundary.

institutionalized change: an institutionalized process existed for implementing change that was supported by norms of risk-taking and professionalism as well as by organizational structures such as specialized change agents and regular staff participation in innovative activities (pp. 62-63).

Again, these five factors were found to be mutually reinforcing in maintaining a steady state in which change was an institutionalized process.

This model of districts as open systems which have characteristic modes of adapting to pressures for change provides a map for understanding resistance in schools and the low rate of innovation adoption found in the research to date.

Conclusions. The need for further case studies of the process of innovation in schools has been stressed by many researchers (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978, 1979; Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein, 1971; Rivlin and Timpane, 1975; Sarason, 1971). The Rand Studies provide a framework for such future studies which acknowledges the complexity of the change process. In many ways the present case study replicated

the Rand Studies and used the framework developed by Berman and McLaughlin to frame the questions which guided the effort. The following diagram summarizes the data presented in this chapter and organizes the factors found to encourage or restrain innovation in schools. Chapter III places this organizational scheme within the framework of the methodology used in this study.

DIAGRAM 3: FACTORS INFLUENCING INNOVATION IN SCHOOLS

FACTORS INFLUENCING INNOVATION	SUSTAINING FACTORS	DISABLING FACTORS
I. Institutional Motivation		
a. Reason for involvement in project	- to address high priority need - sees both long-term and short-term benefits	- opportunistic; political; in response to external pressure - focus on short-term only
b. Initial planning of project	- based on needs assessment - collaborative; input from all levels of system; involvement of all subsystems	- externally defined - top-down dictated or grass-roots with no administrative support
c. Commitment of project teachers	- involvement in initial planning - desire for collaborative work - explicit district support for their efforts - scope of change complex and ambitious - potential benefit to students obvious	- no involvement in initial planning - desire for professional autonomy - neutral or unfavorable administration - scope of change routine and limited; professional motivation absent - not perceived as relevant to students
d. Prior history of innovation	- previous successes; proactive involvement in change	- history of failure; reactive involvement in change
e. Social/Psychological "readiness"	- communication valued; channels for communication are open and actively used	- atmosphere of hostility; lack of communication; closed channels
f. Long-term prospects for innovation	- seen as "way of life" - institutionalized support	- seen as "add on" - reliance on external support
II. Implementation of Strategies		
a. Outside consultants	- consultants used to facilitate/develop internal expertise - perceived as knowledgeable and supportive; relevant - effective mediator of various interest groups; joins all levels	- consultants provide knowledge and expertise - perceived as out of touch; unsupportive; irrelevant - politically ineffective; seen as allied with one group
b. Staff training	- at all levels, teachers, administrators, central staff - based on needs assessment; matched to local needs and interests - focus on institutional practices and structural change - clear focus and relationship to educational issues - use of problem-solving and adaptation processes	- limited to one group; focused only on teachers - standardized - focus on individual practices and individual change - relationship to educational issues unclear - mastery of specific skills to be duplicated
c. Staff support activities	- ongoing project meetings for sharing and support - collaborative design and implementation of activities - feedback and support	- no meetings or meetings devoted to administrative details - individual classroom implementation - isolation
d. Specificity of goals and conceptual clarity	- sequence from initial skills training in problem solving and communication to structural and task focus - clearly stated project goals; clear coherent project vision - opportunity for heuristic learning; clarification, "reinforcing the wheel"; discussion and feedback	- no process training or unconnected to structural and task focus - goals unstated or unclear - focus on memorizing specific goals; lack of understanding underlying rationale
e. Time demands	- realistic within job requirements	- unrealistic
f. Project decision making	- teacher participation in all aspects - congruent with school patterns - results obtained	- externally dictated - incongruent; alien - no visible results
g. Dissemination	- visibility of project - recruitment and training of others - strategies for dissemination specifically addressed in training	- lack of visibility of project - no recruitment and training of others - strategies for dissemination ignored
III. Institutional Leadership		
a. Superintendent and central staff	- supportive and interested - understand project goals	- unsupportive; uninvolved; hostile - no real understanding of project goals
b. Project director	- seen as effective by teachers - close working partnership with top manager of district	- perceived as "out of touch" - no connections to source of power
c. Building principal	- supportive; involved; legitimizes project - understands projects goals	- unsupportive; uninvolved; hostile - no real understanding of project goals
d. School climate	- good working relations among staff - efficient and effective organizational structure - internally sustained staff reward structure; acknowledgement and support from within; professional recognition, money, release time, etc.	- poor or hostile working relations - ineffective and inefficient organizational structure - externally supported reward structure; or money alone
IV. Teacher Characteristics		
a. Sense of efficacy	- believe in own power and ability to effect change (as result of support and success in system)	- believe external factors prevent personal power to effect change
b. Sense of support	- feel supported by administration	- feel unsupported or threatened
c. Commitment	- feel it is in self-interest to participate;	- feel it is against self-interest to participate
V. External Environment	- stable; benign or supportive	- unstable; hostile
VI. Steady State Characteristics		
	- delivery diversity - integrated loose coupling - primacy of delivery concerns - boundary openness - institutionalized change	- delivery uniformity - loose coupling - subordination of delivery concerns - closed boundary - stability as constraint

CONTENTS OF THIS CHART DRAWN FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEWED IN THIS CHAPTER

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Design of the Study

This study used three basic tools of qualitative research: observation, interviews, and document analysis. The use of multiple methods of collecting data, called triangulation (Denzin, 1978), provided cross-validation of information from a single source. Triangulation as defined by Denzin may be of four types: (1) data triangulation, (2) investigator triangulation, (3) theoretical triangulation, and (4) methodological triangulation. Triangulation may also be achieved by a mix of these four types. This study used data triangulation to achieve cross-validation: observations, interviews, and documents. In addition, researcher triangulation was achieved by cross-coding a random sample of the interview tapes with an independent coder to determine the accuracy of researcher paraphrasing and selection of quotes.

Observation

The observation component of field study, according to Patton (1980), has five aspects: (1) role of evaluator/observer, (2) portrayal of evaluator role to others, (3) portrayal of the purpose of the evaluation to others, (4) duration of the observations, and (5) focus of the observations. Each aspect of this process was clearly defined at the outset of this study.

Role of observer. The observer role can vary from "complete immersion in the program as a full participant to complete separation from the program as a spectator" (Patton, 1980, p. 127). The extent of participation may also vary over time.

Junker's typology (1960) is most often used to distinguish observer roles. He identified four categories:

- 1) complete observer - the observer joins the group as a member completely disguising her role as observer,
- 2) participant as observer - the observer's activities are not wholly concealed but are subordinate to her activities as participant,
- 3) observer as participant - the observer's activities are made public at the outset and participation is subordinate to observation,
- 4) complete observer - the observer stands completely outside the situation and observation may be overt or covert.

The observer role in this study most closely resembled Junker's observer as participant category. The role of the observer was made public at the outset of the study and participation was subordinate to observation.

Prior to the beginning of this study the researcher interacted with the system under study as a complete participant. This occurred during the cadre training phase of the CEE project (section G., p. 9 of Chapter I). During the evaluation phase of the project

the researcher moved to participant as observer, still involved as a trainer but standing apart to make observations and evaluations for CEE.

For this study the researcher assumed the observer as participant role, withdrawing from participation as an active member of the project while remaining close to the scene for purposes of observation. This role transition was facilitated by two factors. The focus of the training during the Spring 1981 semester was the development of an expert group which could continue working once outside support was withdrawn. Thus, support for the researcher's transition from participant to observer was built into the training design. Secondly, during a formal meeting with the cadre, superintendent, Title IX Coordinator and CEE field representatives, the researcher officially terminated as trainer and evaluator and turned over direction of the project to the Blue Range personnel. Finally, the request for participation in this study made at a cadre meeting in September 1981 reiterated the change in role to researcher and clearly defined this as an observer role (see letter to teachers in Appendix A).

Evidence that members of the district accepted this change in role definition is provided by the fact that group members turned to each other and not to the researcher during project meetings. Throughout the observation period the group members did not try to engage the researcher in meetings nor did they seek advice or information.

Portrayal of observer role. Portrayal of the observer role may range on a continuum from overt to covert (Patton, 1980). In this study the observer role was overt. The participants in the study were aware that the researcher was observing their activities.

The observer role was presented as an objective one in which the researcher described herself as interested in any and all information both positive and negative about sex equity efforts during the time of the study. It was clearly stated on several occasions that the researcher was not evaluating individuals and that the purpose of the observations was to understand the perceptions of the participants in implementing the Title IX Project in their district.

Portrayal of purpose of observation. The portrayal of purpose may also range on a continuum from overt to covert. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) recommend the researcher not go into great detail about the purpose of the observation in order to guard against reactivity on the part of subjects. In this case the purpose of the observation was stated in a highly general but open manner so as not to lead respondents. The researcher stated an interest in following up what happened to the project once CEE withdrew from the district. The researcher offered to meet with participants to share and discuss conclusions following the completion of the dissertation.

One anticipated problem was that teachers would want to please the investigator. To counter this possible source of contamination, the investigator emphasized that she had no investment in any particular outcome of the project and was genuinely interested in observing

whatever results occurred. This posture was reinforced in two ways. During the stage of setting up the research, the cadre decided that, despite earlier plans, they might not be able to meet as a group during the year. Accordingly, the researcher demonstrated her commitment to follow whatever occurred in the natural course of events by redesigning the process of observation. This served to affirm that her interest was simply to record what happened rather than to direct or evaluate those events. An inducement for teachers to perceive the investigator as neutral also came from the researcher's initial role as trainer. During the training phase teacher input was solicited and valued and project teachers became accustomed to being honest and critical without fear of being judged. This honesty carried forward during the research phase of this study.

Duration of observations. Observations may range from one to two hours to years in duration (Patton, 1980).

The length of time during which observations take place should follow from the nature of the evaluation question being studied and not from some ideal about what a typical participant observation must necessarily involve (p. 135).

The observation period for this study took place during the middle months of one school year. The first two months of school are usually administrative and organizational so November, when school was underway in full swing, was chosen for the beginning of observations. Between November and March the researcher was involved in intensive interviewing and observation at school sites in the district for two to three days each week. After the first few months, observations in the field were limited to cadre meetings or occasions when verification

or corroboration was needed and when an unusual activity was scheduled that was a departure from previously observed and identified patterns.

Focus of the observations. Observations may vary from a narrow focus on single elements of a program to a broad focus on the entire program and all of its elements (Patton, 1980). One way to define focus is to define the "bounded system" or unity under study in the natural setting (AERA Tape Series on Ethnography, 1980). The "bounded system" in this study was the unit of teachers in the school district who were trained to initiate and carry out strategies for continuing the innovation. Smith argues that the unity of the system depends partly on what the researcher wants to find out. In this case the investigator wanted to know what happened to impede or encourage the continuation of the innovation over time. A primary focus on the group charged with carrying out the innovation permitted observation of both the workings of this group and their interaction with significant others in the system who operated as the context for their efforts.

Observations were structured by the activities of the project trained group and its individual members in two ways: one, by observing any group meetings or activities which occurred; and two, by observing activities identified by group members or significant others as examples of equity related actions in the district. The second set of observations were achieved through consulting the school calendar of events and requesting notice from individual informants whenever an activity was scheduled which should be observed (see letter in Appendix A).

The focus of observations was a function of "foreshadowing questions" or "sensitizing concepts" which provided a lens for determining which of all the data available in any given situation were most salient.

Rather than being preordinate categories or operationalized variables, sensitizing concepts provide a basic framework highlighting the importance of certain kinds of events, activities, and behaviors . . . they alert us to ways of organizing the experience and making decisions about what to record (Patton, 1980, p. 57).

Sensitizing concepts are not concrete, rigid categories but abstract processes which organize discrete data in a unified way (Denzin, 1970).

The sensitizing concepts for this study are based on previous research on the processes of change in schools and the factors which have been found by others to contribute to the continuation or demise of an innovation. Diagram 3 summarizes the research and provides the framework for observations conducted in this study.

Field notes. An observation guide based on the sensitizing concepts outlined in Diagram 3 served to focus the observations (see Appendix B). This guide was modified and adapted to include new categories which emerged during the course of observations and deleted or reworded categories which did not accurately reflect what was observed. This guide was a working document, an adaptable tool for organizing observational data in an ongoing manner and directed what was recorded in the field journal.

The field journal was a daily log of events recorded by the researcher in the field. This log included observations, descriptions of settings and people, quotations and remarks, casual conversations, and the researcher's own reflections on what was happening (Lofland, 1971; McCall and Simmons, 1969). The information recorded in the field journal was coded and sorted according to the categories in the observation guide.

Interviews

Interviews may be distinguished by the degree to which questions are determined and sequenced before the interview occurs (Lofland, 1971; Patton, 1980). Patton identified three types of interviews used in qualitative research: the informal conversational interview, the general interview guide, and the standardized open-ended interview.

This study used a combination of the informal conversational interview and the general interview guide. Informal conversational interviewing occurred during field observations as opportunities arose. This type of interviewing has the advantages of allowing the researcher to follow subject leads, discover new areas of relevance to the problem under study, and match questions to the particular person or situation. The disadvantages of this approach are that it prevents systematic comparison of responses among interviewees and makes organization and analysis of data difficult (Patton, 1980).

A general interview guide approach was used when conducting formal interviews with a sample of teachers and administrators. This

guide provided a basic checklist of issues to cover in each interview so that responses could be compared in a more systematic manner. The basic checklist of issues was derived from the same sensitizing concepts (Diagram 3) which informed the observation guide and served to cross-validate interviews with observations. The guide also aided in highlighting the issues described as relevant in the literature on change in schools and tracking their progress in this case study. (See interview guide, Appendix B)

The use of two interviewing approaches had the advantage of maximizing flexibility while allowing for some systematic organization of the data. In addition, the interview guide permitted cross-validation of interview data with observational data and documents. (See chart of data triangulation, Appendix B)

Selection of interview population. McCall and Simmons (1969) outline three types of sampling used in participant observation:

- 1) quota sampling - interviewing a few persons from each category of an organization,
- 2) snowball sampling - interviewing a chain of contacts in which one person leads to another,
- 3) search for exceptions - once empirical relationships are hypothesized between categories of persons, events, or variables, a search for exceptions to them is conducted.

This study used all three forms of sampling. The initial quota sample was based on participants and "non-participants" in the cadre component of the training. Since theoretically all personnel in the system were exposed to some form of training on Title IX, the distinction

was one between single exposure to the equity project and ongoing or sustained exposure. Interviews were conducted with members from each of the two categories and from each level of the system. In addition to project teachers and building principals, interviews were conducted with school committee members, the superintendent, and the Title IX Coordinator. Also interviewed were the field representative from CEE who worked most closely with Blue Range and the state department representative from the Civil Rights Division who had regular contact with the district during the period of this study. Some of these people were chosen through snowball sampling as leads emerged from the initial round of interviewing. Others were key informants who were more available to the researcher than other personnel in the district.

Once patterns and categories began to take shape, a search for exceptions was conducted. For example, the first several project teachers interviewed showed patterns of personal commitment to the issue of sex equity, so the interviewer searched for members of the project who were not so committed. Conversely, in order to explore the possibility of a relationship between nonparticipation and non-commitment, the researcher searched for interview subjects who were nonparticipants but were committed to sex equity.

Timing of interviews. The initial quota sample of interviews took place between November 1981 and February 1982. Other interviews were conducted throughout the observation period whenever the opportunity arose. All formal interviews were audiotaped. The researcher

made several contacts by spending time in the teachers' lounges in various buildings. Sometimes these contacts would result in casual conversations and other times when mutual scheduling permitted they would lead to a formal interview.

Documents

As with the interviews and observations, documents were collected with regard to the sensitizing concepts outlined in Diagram 3. Any documents related to the project as well as the manner in which they were utilized, stored, disseminated, or referred to were considered important data. These documents included memos, minutes, journals, and curriculum materials. In addition, the researcher was granted access to the CEE files on Blue Range, and Blue Range personnel shared district files upon request. Relevant materials included the state audit and the district's written response, action plans negotiated with CEE, yearly self-assessments for the state, and superintendent and school committee reports which related to sex equity.

The interrelationship among the three methods of data collection and the use of sensitizing concepts as initial organizers is charted in Appendix B. This chart provided a checking system for determining strong correlations as well as indicating areas of weakness where further corroboration was necessary. The chart provided conceptual grounding and an organizational map for making sense of the abundant data collected during the seven month period of this study.

Analysis and Interpretation of Data

The task of data analysis in qualitative research is the identification and examination of patterns which emerge from field notes, interviews, and documents collected in the field (Denzin, 1970).

Patton provides the following definition of the task:

Analysis is the process of bringing order to the data, organizing what is there into patterns, categories, and basic descriptive units. Interpretation involves attaching meaning and significance to the analysis, explaining descriptive patterns, and looking for relationships and linkages among descriptive dimensions (1980, p. 268).

This study followed the process of analysis and interpretation outlined by Patton and reiterated by Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and Lofland (1971).

According to these authors, a sequence of steps should be carefully followed in the process of analysis of the data. These steps can be summarized as follows: (1) organizing the data, (2) coding or indexing the data, (3) developing typologies or classification schemes, (4) formulating hypotheses, (5) reassessing data in light of hypotheses, (6) reformulating and refining hypotheses, (7) validating and verifying the refined hypotheses, and (8) summarizing and reporting the results. This process is briefly summarized in the following section as it applied to this study.

Organizing the data. Data organization refers to both material and conceptual issues. The material issues involve how the data will physically be collected and maintained. For this study the following procedure was used: four copies of field notes and interview

summaries were kept. One copy was kept chronologically intact as a running reference. The other copies were coded, clipped, and sorted into categories.

The conceptual issues involve the initial organization of data. Patton says this may be derived from two sources: (1) the questions generated during the conceptual phase of the study, and (2) the analytic insights and interpretations that emerge during data collection. The sensitizing concepts outlined initially served as an organizational structure for the data. New categories were added as data were collected and new possibilities presented themselves.

Coding the data. Files were established for each sensitizing concept and any new concepts which emerged. One copy of field notes and interviews was cut and pasted and sorted into these files. The running copy was coded for cross-referencing. This system allowed for easy access to data and maintained the context for discrete pieces. Documents were numbered and kept with the running copy of field notes and interviews.

Developing typologies. Patton described two kinds of typologies which can represent the patterns emerging during data analysis: indigenous typologies and analyst-constructed typologies. Indigenous typologies refer to the terms used by inhabitants of the setting to describe what is going on. These are derived from phrases used over and over in observations and interviews. Analyst-constructed typologies refer to categories or patterns for which people in the project do not have labels but which appear to represent major themes.

Categories should be judged by two criteria: internal homogeneity, or the extent to which the data which belong to a certain category hold together; and external homogeneity, or the extent to which differences among categories are bold and clear (Patton, 1980). The researcher, according to Patton, must move back and forth between the data and the classification schemes until meaningfulness and accuracy are verified.

The typologies formulated in this study were both analyst-constructed and indigenous typologies. For example, one analyst-constructed typology relates to patterns of support for initiating new procedures to increase sex equity. Data were believed to "fit" this typology when they could be found across situations as supportive of initiating new procedures. There was a clear difference between those factors which supported initiation of new procedures and those factors which did not support initiation of new procedures to increase sex equity.

An example of an indigenous typology is the degree to which an innovation is considered "nitpicky." This term was used so often and by so many people that the researcher used it as a typology to describe the difference between an innovation considered to be useful and one which was not.

Formulating hypotheses. According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975), definitions of phenomena in the setting are posed and then an explanation is hypothesized. This tentative hypothesis-building becomes a starting point for creating and testing theoretical constructs. Continuing with the example of the "nitpicky" typology, the investigator

looked at the data to formulate a definition of this term as used in the setting under study. It appeared that both teachers and administrators designated as "nitpicky" demands for change whose purpose they did not understand such as not lining boys and girls up separately in elementary school, or which they did not see as central to their definition of their role such as implementing specific aspects of the law.

It was hypothesized that when school people understood clearly the connection between an innovation and the requirements of their role and saw a direct benefit to themselves or their students they were more likely to attempt to implement the change. Conversely, when an innovation was either misunderstood or seemed beyond the requirements of their job as they understood it, they would label it as "nitpicky."

Reassessing data in light of hypotheses. In this step the data are reexamined in light of the hypothesis to see whether they fit the facts of the case. In assessing whether the data are supportive or nonsupportive the researcher looks for exceptions, rival explanations, or inconsistencies. In every case where the term "nitpicky" was used to describe an aspect of sex equity either the person saw the demand as outside of their responsibility or were unclear as to how this was relevant to education. The hypothesis formed was that school people will tend to trivialize or disregard demands which they perceive as either outside of their professional responsibilities or not educationally relevant. To test this hypothesis the researcher

looked for instances in the interviews where respondents were asked to explain why the issues they considered "nitpicky" were considered important by the federal government. In cases where the researcher pushed for clarity, interviewees would often change their mind if a clear connection between the change and their responsibility could be made. For example, the item most often mentioned as "nitpicky" was the issue of lining boys and girls up separately. When this segregation was probed for possible effects on sex role perceptions and stereotypes, most teachers and administrators would acknowledge potential negative effects.

Reformulating and refining hypotheses. Based on the steps outlined above, hypotheses are refined or discarded to more closely match the data. These last three steps are actually a circular process of interaction between hypotheses and data in a dynamic process of reformulation and rejection leading to ever more refined hypotheses.

Patton (1980) and Lofland (1971) caution against linear hypotheses and causal analyses and stress the importance of viewing hypotheses from a holistic perspective that describes the interdependence and relatedness of complex phenomena. Thus hypotheses should focus on relationships in the current context and speculation on the functions patterns might serve in the maintenance of a context. The findings of this study are presented in terms of patterns found in the maintenance or demise of the innovation over time.

One pattern that emerged from examination of the term "nitpicky" was that teachers and administrators did not integrate and continue to use new ideas or procedures that they viewed as either outside

their domain or irrelevant to the proper exercise of their responsibilities. However, if they became convinced that a new procedure enhanced their role and was critical to their responsibility they were more likely to initiate and continue the new practice. The function of this pattern can be hypothesized as one of maintaining autonomy and personal boundaries in a situation where the many demands and competing definitions of the responsibilities of educators make boundary definition difficult to maintain.

Validation and verification. Several strategies exist for validating and verifying data analysis in qualitative research. One method is to look for rival explanations. This may take two forms: looking for alternative ways to organize the data which might lead to different findings and looking for alternative logical possibilities to see if they can be supported by the data.

A second method of verification is to look for negative cases. This involves looking for cases which do not fit the patterns which have been identified. The search for rival explanations and negative cases is reported in Chapter 5 so that readers may determine the plausibility of the investigator's explanations for themselves.

A third method of validation is triangulation. According to Patton this means:

- (1) comparing observational data with interview data;
- (2) comparing what people say in public with what they say in private; (3) checking for the consistency of what people in a situation say about this situation over time; and (4) comparing the perspectives of people from different points of view (p. 331).

The three methods of data collection used in this study provide a cross-check on each other in comparing the four areas outlined by Patton.

A fourth method of validation is accurate reporting of methods and resulting data in context. This avoids sampling errors in terms of situations, time periods, and people sampled. This study was designed to avoid sampling errors by observing a variety of situations in the school district, observing over the course of several months and interviewing people from all levels of the system and from varying degrees of participation in the project under study.

A fifth method of verification is to record the reactive effects of the observer. The researcher recorded daily reactions in the field notes. These observer comments included perceived reactions and biases of participants, observer biases and predispositions, and changes in the observer's perceptions over the course of the study. The observer comments are reported in the findings when appropriate and relevant.

Presentation of findings. The basic issue in presenting findings is to achieve a balance between description and analysis. The analysis of a lengthy mass of material must be presented in an organized and focused manner while presenting enough descriptive examples to allow readers to encounter the setting for themselves. Chapter 4 presents the major patterns found in the observation and interview data with descriptive examples which highlight and exemplify these consistencies.

References to observations, interviews, and documents are indexed so that the reader can judge the representativeness of quoted material from the interviews and references to documents and observations. The investigation attempted to draw quoted material proportionally from among the interviews so that no one individual or group is over-represented.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the forces in the daily life of a school which support or restrain the continuation of an innovation once outside support is withdrawn. This chapter presents data gathered in a case study of one school district on the factors that affected continuation of a sex equity project once federal support ended. The focus of the study was the change agent group (cadre) that was trained to continue implementation of the project, their efforts in the year following federal withdrawal and the district's response to their efforts as evidenced by their interactions with their peers and the district administration.

Data for this study were collected from three sources: observations, interviews, and documents. Section One of this chapter presents the observation data. Section Two presents the interview data. Each section is introduced with a description of how the data were collected for that section. Document data are interspersed throughout these two sections as supporting evidence. Each section concludes with a summary of the data according to the factors identified as significant to innovation in the Rand Study (see Diagram 3).

Section One: Observations

Method. The observations for this study included all meetings of the cadre; other meetings in the district related to sex equity; informal observations made during visits to buildings, faculty lounges, classrooms and offices throughout the district, as well as phone calls and informal conversations with key informants. The observations were conducted over a seven month period.

During the observation period, the researcher attended all meetings of the cadre. Careful field notes were recorded during each meeting. Observations and conversations with participants before and after these meetings also were recorded. Researcher reactions were recorded and labelled OC (Observer Comment) to distinguish them from the field record. In this chapter references to the field notes are marked FN (Field Notes) accompanied by the appropriate page number. The observation guide (Appendix B) provided focus for the observations.

Documents were collected during visits to the district. These included written material related to the work of the cadre, such as memos, minutes, and planning documents; and written material related to district-wide sex equity efforts including student handbooks, grievance procedures, hiring policies, memos, the state audit, the system's written response to the audit and annual 622 self-assessments. Documents are introduced in the next two sections as needed to elaborate points and are marked D (Documents) with the appropriate list number (see List of Documents, Appendix B).

A narrative of events during the observation period provides a chronological account of the cadre and its activities during the

seven months of this study. The narrative of the observation period precedes and provides a context for the formal interview data which are presented in Section Two. Prevalent themes are identified and traced through the narrative. The categories listed in the observation guide are used to summarize the data presented in this section.

The context. The cadre in Blue Range was a group of thirteen teachers representing elementary, middle, and high school who had been trained as "a problem solving and action planning group to implement strategies to achieve educational equity for girls and boys in their system" (D-1). The cadre had concluded training the previous year with plans to continue as a group in the year following federal withdrawal from the district and to implement the plans they had designed. A letter of support from the superintendent affirmed the district's commitment to the continuation of the cadre:

Memo to cadre from superintendent, Spring 1981 (D-1)

(Title IX Coordinator) has informed us of your conscientious and constructive efforts to develop projects to deal with the problems inherent in Title IX/Chapter 622 compliance.

I wish you to know that I very much appreciate the time and effort that you have put into this project and assure you that I will do all I can within the limits of available resources to insure that the proposals can be implemented.

Tentatively we will schedule the meeting of June 23 for a presentation to the School Committee. If this is not satisfactory then we will plan on the first meeting in September.

Although this meeting never occurred, the School Committee did receive copies of a manual describing the training and the projects designed by cadre members (D-2).

The cadre was supported by the district Title IX/Chapter 622 Coordinator who was charged by law to oversee compliance with these laws. This person held an administrative post in the district as vice-principal of the high school and worked closely with the superintendent, CEE, and the State Civil Rights Officer to maintain sex equity as a focus in Blue Range.

In addition, the cadre was supported, at least theoretically, by the fact that the entire district including all teachers, administrators, and some School Committee members had participated in in-service training on sex equity and thus had an awareness of the issues and the requirements of the state and federal laws related to sex equity (D-3). On the face of it, this group had a clear mission, some strategies for carrying it out, and the institutional support to continue as a working group in the district.

The previous year the cadre and the district had been operating under Proposition 2½, a new state law which lowered property taxes and therefore financial support for schools. This fact had played a role in the cadre's planning and their strategies had taken into account the financial constraints imposed by 2½. During the summer the positions of three members of the group were cut through RIFs (Reductions in Force) and at the time of the first meeting in September one member was permanently gone and two members had not yet been reinstated. Both eventually were rehired and both attended the September meeting even though their jobs were uncertain at that point.

Throughout the year of this study 2½ continued to be voiced as a major concern by members of the district and seemed to the observer to play a significant role in determining morale and priorities. It is impossible to determine the extent to which 2½ proscribed sex equity efforts that might have happened in a more secure emotional and financial climate. For the purposes of this study the district's process of mobilization in the face of 2½ does, however, provide a useful example of how the system typically responds to externally imposed demands for change. This information contributes to an examination of how change occurs in this district in so much as the response of Blue Range to 2½ can be compared with the district's response to Title IX/Chapter 622 and the federal intervention examined in this study. This comparison is elaborated in Chapter V.

September. As a result of 2½, the superintendent and school committee spent the summer of 1981 deciding budget cuts and staff RIFs.

Approximately 40 staff were RIFFed. Those teachers who returned in September discovered missing colleagues, increased class sizes, job reassignments, and reduced supplies. These issues were the topics of discussion as members arrived for the cadre meeting which was held on the first day of school (FN-5). The extent to which this atmosphere influenced teacher enthusiasm for working on sex equity can only be a matter of speculation though the fact that it did have an influence was evidenced that day and throughout the course of this study by the number of times the subject was brought up in conversations and interviews.

The memo sent out by the Title IX Coordinator scheduling this meeting stated that it was "to discuss some short and long term goals for the year" (D-4). Eleven of the original 13 members attended. The Title IX Coordinator began the meeting by reiterating the cadre's envisioned function in the district as discussed the previous Spring in the closing meeting with the superintendent, Title IX Coordinator, and CEE staff. The projected future plans for the cadre discussed at that meeting were:

- to continue to meet as a district-wide problem-solving group.
- to continue to design and implement individual and group projects aimed at solving sex inequities in the district.
- to be a resource group to the Title IX Coordinator and other faculty in their respective schools.

It was now stated that the cadre could help the Title IX Coordinator by assisting in the annual self-assessment instrument⁴ required by the State Civil Rights Office (D-5) and by providing in-service training to other faculty within Blue Range and in other systems in the state. They also were informed that the state might be able to pay them as consultants to carry out these functions thus providing incentive and reward for their efforts.

Three issues immediately arose: one, a fear of overcommitment; two, a fear of lack of support for continuation as a group; and three, unwillingness to train peers in their own district.

I don't have time to be on a committee. I just got my rosters and I have the biggest classes I've had in years.

⁴This instrument was the State's method of maintaining accountability and was required each year of every district in the Commonwealth. Districts had the option of designing their own procedure for reporting to the State as well.

I plan to do my projects in my own classes but I just don't have the time for meetings (FN-6).

This sentiment was seconded by the majority of the group and was especially prevalent at the middle and high school levels where every teacher from those levels said they would have trouble continuing to meet.

Elementary teachers seemed somewhat more willing to continue meeting and nodded their agreement with one teacher who said:

I would like to continue the cross-level support. I really gained alot from hearing about problems at the other two levels. I think the group needs a new focus to keep going but now is not the time. It's just too soon in the school year. Maybe by October . . . (FN-6).

Another person's proposal that released time be provided to meet during the school day received unanimous nods of approval. The Title IX Coordinator agreed to try to arrange for released time for a second meeting in October and, if possible, for once a month beyond that.

The second issue concerned the cadre's function. Members said they were willing to support and advise the Title IX Coordinator in conducting the self-assessment but were unwilling to take an active role themselves when it came to training others in the system.

I won't try to teach my peers. I'll stay in the classroom where I have some semblance of authority (FN-6).

From the observer's point of view, this prophetic remark was not given the serious attention it deserved at the time and became a focal point of increasingly futile efforts at maintaining the cadre as a viable vehicle for continuation of the project.

The meeting concluded with some suggestions from the teachers on how the Title IX Coordinator could conduct the self-assessment. They did not see themselves taking a lead in this process but one or two teachers said they might be willing to help others fill out the forms.

Let the principals announce and take heat for the plan (to fill out the assessments). Then maybe we can step in and help out later (FN-7).

The suggestion that filling out the state evaluation was not a popular process among the staff was a stated concern of the Title IX Coordinator yet this task was not challenged as a focus and continued to be the subject of cadre meetings during the year.

Several themes emerged from this meeting that appeared to the observer to be critical to the course of the group's efforts from that point forward and were to be repeated in subsequent meetings:

- total responsibility for the group was in the hands of one person, the Title IX Coordinator.
- members were reluctant to meet as a district-wide group unless they met during released time, were reluctant to disseminate their knowledge through conducting inservice with their peers, were fearful of being used or burned out, and were suspicious of administrative motives and support.
- the focus became compliance with the state review process and administrative accountability, i.e., "filling out the forms."

The course thus begun at this meeting might be titled "the path of least resistance" and indeed this phrase adequately captures the observer's sense of the tenor of this meeting and of those to follow.

When the meeting ended, the observer asked the Title IX Coordinator to give her assessment of the meeting. She expressed her belief that the teachers' responses were "a predictable pattern."

You have to be constantly flexible . . . not even thinking what the group said in the Spring was meant . . . you have to pick up any kernel of positives to carry on" (FN-8).

She was also sympathetic to the group's concerns:

This is the committed group, they do everything, I can understand their fear of burning out" (FN-8).

Her primary concern was to find a way to build in rewards for the teachers, "a way to keep the momentum going." Two ideas predominated: getting released time for meetings and getting money from the state to pay them as consultants so they would train other faculty. She continued to identify the administrative task of completing the assessment instrument as a focus for herself and the group (FN-9,10).

In looking back on this meeting, several choices and beliefs held by the Title IX Coordinator seem significant. She believed that teachers needed to be externally motivated to continue, hence her focus on how to get state money. She seemed to believe that those interested in change were a small non-representative group of teachers and therefore did not attempt to bring in others. Her reliance on the state forms seemed to indicate a belief that the legitimacy of outside authority was needed to continue. Finally, she took ultimate responsibility for the cadre and the project into her own hands and did not attempt to delegate or solicit responsibility from others.

October. Throughout this period, the observer was often in the schools to conduct scheduled interviews and was able to follow the progress of the Title IX Coordinator's planning for the next meeting. Over the course of several brief conversations it appeared to the observer that a great deal of time and effort was being expended to

set up the October meeting including several phone calls to Boston to arrange for substitute pay so teachers could be released during school time, coordinating meeting times with building principals and cadre members, and making arrangements for the state civil rights officer to attend to explain how consulting money could be arranged through training other districts (FN-9,10,11,12).

Eventually, released time for teachers, money to pay substitutes and the presence of the state officer were all coordinated for a meeting day in October. The observer arrived at the scheduled time only to discover that the meeting had been cancelled at the last minute. The Title IX Coordinator explained:

There were conflicting demands. The elementary principals told their teachers they had to schedule parent conferences during that time (FN-13).

She seemed demoralized and somewhat cynical about this change in plans:

I planned for subs way back in September, set everything in motion but it fell through . . . it took alot of time to research how to get released time for the meeting, money for substitutes, negotiate with the principals, deal with the remorse of team members, and it all fell through (FN-16).

She did not know when she would be able to schedule another meeting, said she felt overwhelmed by her own responsibilities as a vice-principal, especially because the principal would be out of the building for most of November, and frustrated by the struggle of trying to keep going. Adding to her worries was the fact that the revised state assessment form was not yet available. All of these factors combined made it unlikely that another meeting could be organized until "after Thanksgiving at the earliest."

The Title IX Coordinator. The cancellation of the October meeting afforded the researcher an informal interview with the Title IX Coordinator in which she poured out her frustrations and provided a candid assessment of her role in the district. Her sense of isolation and lack of support in the system were evidenced by her description of her peers at the administrative level:

There's no support from the other administrators. They groaned when I mentioned it (the plan to have the group help with the self-assessment instrument). I take alot of kidding. I wonder if things aren't worse now than before . . . If I hadn't done a thing, it would be the same attitude, same image . . . After all the training and conferences they went through, there's no advancement in attitudes, it's as if they never received training (FN-14).

As evidence of the lack of commitment at the administrative level she pointed to the fact that the system had recently filled two administrative positions with men when qualified women had been applicants. "The system had a double opportunity to hire women and didn't." She had been one of the applicant's for a principal's position.

The previous year the district had been audited by the State to determine areas of compliance and noncompliance with Chapter 622 (D-6). One of the areas mentioned in the audit had been the lack of female role models in administrative positions and the superintendent had publicly stated his intention of seeking female candidates for whatever new positions opened up. This fact was mentioned by a number of people in the district as their reason for cynicism about the commitment of district leaders to the issue of sex equity.

The Title IX Coordinator traced administrative hostility toward sex equity to the state audit because it had been conducted during the

same time that the system was involved in intensive training on sex equity with the federal government. She explained that from the district's perspective "we're being punished by the state and praised by the federal government at the same time" and its "confusing."

The state comes in and reinforces the negative . . . If we were such a model district (as defined by the CEE project) then why are things so grim? (FN-14)

The perceived double messages from the state and federal government were the subject of particular concern to administrators. A written compilation of comments in rebuttal to items in the audit report reflected this confusion and concern:

We have done as much and more than many systems.
They commended us for on-going training with (CEE);
then slap our wrists for lack of awareness -- unjust
and not warranted (D-7).

Without exception, administrators mentioned this discrepancy in the formal interviews. The Title IX Coordinator shared her colleagues' confusion and because of her dual role also found herself in the middle. An irony of this situation was that the state civil rights officer had authorized the audit in Blue Range in order to "support (the Title IX Coordinator) and give her some credibility and authority in the system" (FN-43). The effect was that she ended up feeling both responsible for responding to the recommendations in the audit and responsible for defending the district from what many felt was an unfair attack.

The Title IX Coordinator's sense of isolation was further evidenced by her belief that teachers in the system did not look to her as a leader.

I think there are pockets of teachers I may not appreciate or realize who are interested, aware, conscious; but they don't look at me as a leader. I got calls last year but I get the feeling Title IX is a dead issue now, that there's no more energy (FN-15).

This belief reinforced her fear that the cadre would "get lost" in what she characterized as "the traditional, historical weaknesses . . . there's very little communication, cooperation, coordination among levels" (FN-15). In such an atmosphere she questioned, "is it fair to ask the group to continue? Its a superhuman effort from a full, full, full time job" (FN-14). Given the amount of time and energy she put into her role as Title IX Coordinator and her sense of futility about the effects she might have characterized her own position in exactly the same way.

This conversation highlighted some of the themes previously mentioned and drew out some new ones. This person's isolation and feeling of total responsibility for the sex equity project is further explained. As the only woman in administration she was already isolated by gender.⁵ In addition, she was isolated by her position as a representative of both the district and the state. She felt further isolated from teachers who supported sex equity but did not view her as a leader. Finally, as vice-principal, a somewhat peripheral position in a district context although important in a building context, she was isolated from level one administrators by being out

⁵ According to the State Civil Rights Officer, it is common for women in administration to be assigned the role of Title IX Coordinator. Approximately 90% of the Title IX Coordinators in the state are women.

of order in the power hierarchy. This point is explored further in Chapter V.

Despite her pessimism the day of this conversation, the Title IX Coordinator intended to organize another cadre meeting. She planned to "give it another shot after Thanksgiving. Maybe I'll have the state instrument in hand which might help" (FN-16).

November-December. November came and went and then December and the cadre did not meet. The Title IX Coordinator said she was preoccupied with other responsibilities despite her evident good intentions, and continued to await the arrival of the revised state assessment instrument. Meanwhile, the teachers appeared to be focused elsewhere. As the researcher went about the formal interviews, time spent in teachers lounges and lunchrooms allowed for informal observations and discussions. Talk of 2½ was the single most prevalent item of discussion. A middle school member of the group who had dropped out of the cadre at the September meeting stated:

I just can't take on anymore. In the next round of cuts the teachers who get laid off will be the lucky ones (FN-19).

Other members of the group were equally demoralized by the additional work and the prospects of more cuts to come. As one member commented: "We're just keeping our heads above water." An observer comment recorded during this time wondered:

How can I possibly separate the impact of 2½ from all that is happening or not happening with sex equity? Morale seems very low, at least for those I've talked to so far. People seem very burned out (OC-19).

January. In the beginning of January the revised state assessment instrument arrived. The Title IX Coordinator sent out a memo to all the faculties in the system. Because it became a source of much confusion later, the memo is reproduced here in toto.

Memo to the faculty, from the Title IX Coordinator,
January 1982 (D-8):

We ask that you meet as house or building faculties to complete the annual Chapter 622 Self-Assessment. The Secondary School Teachers' and Principal's Questionnaire will have to be used and adapted for your use as an Elementary section has not yet been revised. Please mark "NOT APPLICABLE" to any question that is not appropriate. Question #12, however, is the crucial question to be answered. Here should be stated a specific goal that the department chooses to address for the remainder of the school year.

As she later explained to the cadre teachers, the intent was for people to meet in groups to get "conversation and interaction on the issues . . . reawaken awareness and decide on a focus for the rest of the year" (FN-32). The reality, as portrayed at the January cadre meeting, was quite different.

The observer was present at the high school faculty meeting which was convened for the purpose of following the directions outlined in the preceding memo. Field notes recorded during the meeting provide a vivid picture of the process.

OC: People struggle in over the course of a fifteen or twenty minute period, sit in groups as far away from the principal and vice-principal as space will allow. The principal begins by talking about exam schedules and other business. Teachers yawn, talk to each other, grade papers, read throughout. Only a few are looking directly at the speaker. Awhile ago he told me he deplored state intervention in local priorities even though he supports sex equity. He turns the self-assessment part over to the vice-principal and does not get involved in the process as far as I can see.

The vice principal asks people to get into department groups and use the self-assessment form as a basis for conversation and planning to increase sex equity in their departments. She asks them to pay special attention to question 12 which asks for specific departmental goals. I am sitting next to the PE faculty so I observe their planning. Everyone seems to be talking at once. They seem nervous, fidgety, unsure, "lets get this over with" says the AD. They quickly go through the first part of the questionnaire, read the question, check off an answer with little discussion. Individuals comment on the difficulties with coed classes, staff shortages, attitudes of the kids, and how these combine to make it impossible to change interaction patterns. They end up agreeing on a vague goal, stated in general terms to continue improving coeducation in PE and to get another female instructor as soon as budget allows. Other groups seem to be operating in much the same manner. The meeting ends in about fifteen minutes. The cafeteria clears within seconds (FN-26,27).

Following this meeting, the Title IX Coordinator sent a memo to the cadre members announcing a meeting for the end of January in which they would "review the results (of the self-assessments) and . . . reach some consensus as to the future needs of the system" (D-9).

The elementary/middle school meeting. For some reason, unknown to the observer, the high school members were unable to meet on the scheduled date. So one meeting was held on that day with the elementary and middle school members and a second meeting with the high school members was held the following day.

Three of the original four elementary teachers and one of the remaining two middle school teachers attended this meeting. They were joined by one elementary principal who mistakenly thought he was required to attend and was invited to stay anyway. As people arrived one at a time, there was some discussion about the impact of 2½ in various buildings. Comments were also made about how members had

found out about this meeting. One teacher said he had only that day received the message about the meeting to which the Title IX Coordinator responded,

communication in this system is not great even under the best of conditions. I wonder who else will show up (FN-32).

A statement of the agenda began the meeting and included two items: a discussion of the results of the self-assessment questionnaire and a consideration of next steps for the cadre. The instrument results were discussed first. The Title IX Coordinator said she was "disappointed to find out that not one of the administrators followed instructions for completing the assessment through group discussion" (FN-32).

Apparently there had been great confusion at the elementary level because the revised form was titled "Secondary Teachers' and Principals' Questionnaire" and they said was difficult to adapt to elementary issues. A member of the group brought back the message from one elementary principal to "come back when you have a form that fits us" (FN-32). There was some discussion about what was and was not applicable to elementary and it was decided that the elementary group would try again to complete the questionnaires in their buildings and that the cadre teachers would be resources in their respective buildings.

The middle school, for whom the secondary form was applicable, did not follow instructions either. The cadre members from the middle school had the completed forms in hand and commented:

People really were not too serious about this. There are a few good ones but many people didn't answer #12. You need to have a dialogue and discussion to do it right so your number one priority was lost. It was not done in groups. They were put in our mailboxes and we were directed to have it done by 11 o'clock today. They were given to the house captains and returned to the house captains (FN-34).

The Title IX Coordinator was incredulous:

I can't believe they xeroxed enough forms for each teacher to have one. I deliberately only handed out enough for each group so people would work together on them (FN-36).

The middle school teacher brought her some 30 odd individually completed assessments rather than the four group assessments she had envisioned. According to the teacher they had been done perfunctorily with no discussion at all.

The Title IX Coordinator reported that the high school assessments had in her eyes yielded similarly disappointing results.

The problem I found was getting specifics on #12. For example, the social studies department put 'continued awareness and updating of texts.' It was pretty general, not what I had in mind. I was trying to elicit small, specific steps to concentrate on but I did not achieve this from the high school departments (FN-33).

After some discussion of these results, the group seemed to reach the conclusion that "not much thought was given to it (filling out the forms) because of apathy and/or antagonism . . . Many people are hostile to filling out these forms. It was bad to put the most important question last" (FN-34). Thus ended five months of focus on the state self-assessment instrument as the vehicle for stimulating discussion and planning around sex equity. Except for the plans to redo the forms at the elementary level, the issues was dropped.

Once more the idea of having the cadre lead inservice training on sex equity was raised by the Title IX Coordinator. She reported a conversation with the state civil rights officer who had lauded their previous work.

She thought your projects were the best thing she's seen in ages and asked me why you aren't doing anything with it. She wanted to be here today. She would like to see you do training and get paid for it. If you could get people to meet with you after school you could get paid for the training (FN-34).

Again, teachers were very resistant to this idea.

Its hard coming from the ranks and trying to do training. I don't feel I have enough expertise (FN-34).

People are set in their ways. They don't see what they're doing . . . I'm nervous about what it would involve (FN-35).

I'm worried people might be hostile (FN-35).

Finally, they agreed to attend a meeting with the state civil rights officer to find out more about the training she had in mind as long as "we're not committed though, right? Just exploring the idea" (FN-35).

The meeting ended with some difficulty arranging the next meeting time. Two people said they would like to have more advance notice. One teacher, surprisingly, considering it was supposed to be a reward, said he did not like having someone cover his classes and would prefer to meet after school. The next meeting was planned for after school.

A theme that the observer found striking at this meeting, was that the teachers seemed to see themselves as helping the Title IX Coordinator because they liked her and sympathized with her position. One teacher said at the end of the meeting, "sorry we couldn't do

more." From this statement it seemed that the cadre teachers saw sex equity as the responsibility of this one person who they were willing to help but who ultimately was responsible, not them.

The high school cadre meeting. Three of the original six high school members attended the meeting. The agenda was the same as for the elementary/middle school meeting the previous day: discussion of the results of the state self-assessment instrument and exploration of the possibility of conducting inservice training with peers and getting paid.

As in the other meeting, the Title IX Coordinator reported her disappointment in the results of the assessment and the generalities with which people addressed question #12. She cited statistics that showed enrollment patterns in the high school were still unequal and presented this as a concrete area to address. The teachers disagreed. They said the necessary changes, for example girls and boys choosing to take courses not traditionally taken by their gender, could only begin at the elementary level and in the students' homes.

We have different problems at our level, harder to solve (FN-38).

What would the goal be in English? If the chips fall that way. You can't do anything about enrollments (FN-38).

A lot of the problems are born in elementary and early childhood. The seeds are sown way back. It's the home, a lot more can be done at the elementary level than high school. Have to work on kids early (FN-38).

The suggestion was made that the high school group could help the elementary teachers develop some strategies for work at their level. The Title IX Coordinator pointed out "the elementary people support

changing but they don't appreciate having the finger pointed at them" (FN-38). After a few more minutes of discussion focused on the difficulty of creating change at the secondary level and the Title IX Coordinator proposing potential goals deemed unacceptable by the teachers, the subject was dropped.

As for conducting inservice with their peers, the high school teachers were even more reluctant than their colleagues from the other levels.

I would never do a workshop with people in this building (FN-39).

The other teachers repeatedly asked, "What would the goal be?" and then rejected the goals the Title IX Coordinator posed as possibilities. At the end of the meeting two agreed to meet with the state representative to hear about the possibility of consulting, one because, as he stated bluntly, "I need the money" and the other because, "I'm open minded, I'm willing to hear more." (FN-39). The third teacher said she simply did not have time to meet after school but would be willing to meet with the Title IX Coordinator during school to help her go over the assessments.

A third issue that arose at this meeting was the title IX Coordinator's desire for support from these teachers in her building. She stated:

I need a long term support group for me just to keep things going. I get no support from fellow administrators. The only support is the superintendent but that's limited when I'm back at the ranch. I need support to follow up on these reports (FN-40).

This confession was clearly a breach of protocol and the teachers appeared to be quite uncomfortable hearing it. Only the female staff member

responded with a willingness to provide support. The other two teachers looked out the window, one sat tapping his foot, eyes averted, and did not verbally or visually acknowledge this request. During a later interview with one of the teachers he referred to this meeting two or three times with seeming disgust:

All I see is (the Title IX Coordinator) frustrated with no direction. I don't know what she wants, what her purpose is. I think she's upset about how the other administrators treat her, she sees things in the school that are inequitable but I'm not clear what they are (I-019).

This meeting, like the elementary/middle school meeting the previous day, seemed to the observer to demonstrate the Title IX Coordinator's isolation, the teachers' lack of ownership of the process, and their continued unwillingness to disseminate the innovation they had begun. This reluctance continued to be overlooked and the next meeting was planned with a total focus on eliciting cadre enthusiasm for training peers.

March. By the time of the March meeting with the State Civil Rights Officer the cadre had lost all but one of the original high school members and all but one of the original middle school members. The original four elementary teachers were still attending meetings. For the second time high school met separately from middle and elementary. The remaining high school teacher met with the State officer first and then the rest of the group arrived for a separate meeting. The presence of the state officer had two purposes: one, to talk to teachers about the prospects of state support for inservice training which they would lead within their district and in other districts,

and two, to conduct an official audit review with the Title IX Coordinator. This review was a follow up of the audit conducted the previous year to assess what steps had been taken to correct the problem areas cited in the audit report (D-6).

The audit review. From private comments to the observer and from her demeanor and statements to the Title IX Coordinator, it was evident that the State Officer was supportive of the Title IX Coordinator and was not intent on punishing the district for non-compliance. She saw her role as one of "supporting" and "catalyzing" change (I-30). The Title IX Coordinator saw the state officer as supportive but also as powerful and seemed to the observer to be eager to present the district in a good light (FN-44).

Each person had a copy of the audit in front of her and they proceeded to go down the list of items one by one. The state officer would ask about an item, the Title IX Coordinator would indicate what, if anything new had been done to address the problem, and the state officer would make recommendations for future actions. This discussion appeared to the observer as an interesting dance with the state officer gently probing and pushing, making suggestions for additional steps that might be taken and the Title IX Coordinator defining, identifying barriers and describing intentions of the district to eliminate inequities.

One interesting pattern that emerged in this discussion was the Title IX Coordinator's single-minded focus on the cadre as the sole source of change. When the state officer suggested involving other groups in the district such as the student council and parents

these ideas were not accepted as possibilities. Whether involving others had never occurred to her or whether she thought it was not a good idea was not clear from the discussion. There did seem to be a great deal of resistance to the idea.

Before this topic could be further explored, the high school teacher arrived for his meeting with the state officer. The two meetings between the state officer and the cadre members filled the rest of the allotted time and it was decided that the rest of the audit review would be conducted by phone at a later date.

The state officer and the high school teacher. The Title IX Coordinator had announced to the state officer when she arrived that "I'm dumping it in your lap." She wanted the state officer to "tell them where the project is now and the reality of implementing it further. The purpose is to rev them up" (FN-44).

The state officer began the meeting by telling the teacher that she had read and admired his action plan from the previous year and that her purpose for being there was to find out if he was interested in doing more (FN-45). He responded with some interest but said "first I'd have to be sure we have a solvable problem" (FN-45). He reiterated his belief that real change had to come at the elementary level or in the home. "There's nothing, no hindrance placed in a kid's path at (this high school). The kids don't want to choose alternatives. It can't be solved at the high school level" (FN-45).

After some discussion along this line, the state officer asked again if he was interested in doing any further work on the issue. He agreed that he might be interested in a project that included

elementary teachers to encourage more girls to enter math and science programs. He agreed to think about the idea further, discuss it with some colleagues in math and science, and return to a second meeting with the cadre to pursue the plan further.

The state officer and the middle/elementary teachers. The meeting between the state officer and the middle school/elementary teachers began in the same way. She stated her enthusiasm for their projects and asked about their interest in continuing. This meeting took a somewhat different focus.

These teachers saw the problem as lack of interest.

We just went through a teacher survey of interests for inservice and Title IX was not one of them chosen as a priority (FN-46).

People are no longer interested in the topic. They're focused on survival issues and might be hostile or apathetic (FN-47).

There are so many other concerns on everyone's mind it wouldn't get the seriousness it deserves (FN-47).

The cadre members themselves said they were feeling "swamped with paperwork" and "depressed by the conservative political climate in the country now" (FN-47).

Another issue they named was that they did not want to be identified as working for administration and they feared conducting inservice would be defined as such by their peers. This suggests again that the issue of sex equity had become identified as an administrative concern with compliance rather than an educational concern that involved teachers.

The cadre members said they were interested in continuing cross-level meetings and support among themselves but they did not want to

conduct inservice with their peers. A compromise suggestion was proposed: "What if we each brought one other person to join the group and provided training for them?" (FN-47). The state officer thought they might be able to justify this to the state and still get consulting money and said she would check it out. However, this seemed to be a fragile possibility since one teacher commented: "I don't think I could find one other teacher in my building who's interested" (FN-47). The meeting concluded with agreement among the teachers that they would think about it and return to a meeting scheduled a few weeks later to make a decision.

This meeting was the final observation for this study. The original group was now reduced to six of the original fourteen members. Only the elementary group had remained intact and two of the four members would not be in the district the following year. One would be on pregnancy leave and the other had been RIFFed the previous year and was only in the system currently as a long term substitute. Whether or not the remaining members would continue was very much up in the air at this point. The prospects seemed rather dim given their assessment of the school climate and preoccupation with survival issues as well as their repeated and vehement resistance to disseminating their efforts through inservice training. The only visible impetus to continue appeared to be the Title IX Coordinator's single-handed efforts at arranging meetings and setting agendas. It seemed clear that if she were to give up, the cadre would certainly discontinue and dissolve.

Summary of the observation data. The following section uses the observation guide (Appendix B) to present a review of the evidence gathered through observation of the cadre and its operations throughout the year of the study. The themes traced throughout this narrative are placed in the context of themes identified by the research on change and innovation in schools from which the observation guide categories were drawn. These categories are explained in more detail in Diagram 3.

Institutional motivation. The frequency of discussion of sex equity issues was very low among the group charged with this responsibility, at least as defined by the number of times they met together for this purpose in the year following federal withdrawal from the district. Three one hour meetings over the course of seven months represents minimal attention at best.

The patterns of participation in addressing equity issues in the district tended to be top-down and pro-forma. The agendas of the cadre meetings were determined by one person, the Title IX Coordinator. Typically, she would suggest a direction for the group to take and they would respond with the limitations on that action. For example, when the Title IX Coordinator raised the issue of the cadre conducting inservice training with their peers, they cited their own lack of experience and the hostility and apathy of their peers as obstacles to this course of action. Though this plan was rejected no alternative plan was proposed. This group of teachers had fairly extensive training in how to collaboratively approach problems and devise solutions, yet this approach was not used once during cadre meetings.

There was some access to resources in terms of state financial support and released time for meetings. At least ostensibly reward and recognition of effort was an institutional concern. However, the teachers' continuing suspicion and fear of being used or burned out, as well as the obstacles they encountered in actually trying to meet contradict this concern. It appeared that other priorities took precedence in the view of both project teachers and the administrators of the district. For example, a cadre meeting planned long in advance was cancelled at the last minute because of other priorities. Teachers' priorities were dealing with paperwork, handling larger classes and other managerial concerns. Persistence on the part of the Title IX Coordinator seemed to fly in the face of larger system patterns that prescribed teacher and administrator roles and prevented the collaboration and interaction she attempted to set up.

The cadre's visibility in the district is hard to determine from observations of their meetings. They did not see themselves as a visible group and comments made by others in the district during the formal interviews indicated that most people in the district were unaware of their existence or saw them as "another inservice committee."

The reluctance of all the cadre members to conduct inservice with their peers made outreach and dissemination unlikely. Some obstacles they named were: staff hostility and apathy, other priorities, their own insecurity about leading inservice and time constraints. The Title IX Coordinator's outreach efforts encountered similar obstacles.

Implementation strategies. The focus of interventions seemed to be a major source of unacknowledged disagreement between the cadre teachers and the Title IX Coordinator. The former tended to envision their own classrooms as the province of change while the Title IX Coordinator envisioned the cadre teachers conducting inservice training with their peers and working on district-wide inequities. As a result, the tasks and goals established by the Title IX coordinator encountered resistance from the cadre teachers and led to a focus on the only aspect upon which they could agree, completion of the state self-assessment instrument. Even in this plan, the teachers saw themselves as helping her to complete her task rather than one that was defined as a group task.

The decision about where to focus their energies was reached through an implicit process of following the path of least resistance. No clear, overt decision making process was used in any of the meetings and no attempt was made to use the collaborative decision making model the teachers had learned during the cadre training. Rather than apply a newly learned procedure, meetings reverted to typical patterns of interaction where administration leads and faculty passively follow.

The cadre members and the Title IX Coordinator had varying degrees of knowledge and indepth understanding of sex equity issues and how to remediate them in curriculum, instruction, and school policies. The majority stated a clear commitment to sex equity but varied widely in their conceptions of how to achieve it. Cadre meetings, however, were never used to discuss these matters or to provide each other with potential solutions to the problems they

identified. The secondary level teachers especially saw the problem as either unsolvable at their level or as interfering with the content they were committed to teach and inappropriate to their subject matter.

The frequency and quality of interaction among group members was brief and conversational rather than prolonged, ongoing collaboration as initially intended in the training. The sense of "groupness" developed during the training phase seemed to have disappeared along with over half of the original group members. At the secondary level there was no group at all and the lone remaining member was further separated by meeting apart from the rest of the cadre teachers. The middle school teacher and four elementary teachers verbally valued the cross-level meeting and support but did not attempt to carry it further outside of the meetings initiated and conducted by the Title IX Coordinator.

Institutional leadership. The fact that one meeting was cancelled at the last minute by fiat of the elementary principals is one indication of the degree of administrative support for this project. The perfunctory manner with which the state assessment instrument was received and conducted by the principals is another indication. From these two examples, it can be surmised that other administrators in the district did not see sex equity as either a high priority or as a responsibility they personally should assume. According to the Title IX Coordinator, they resented the paperwork, the intrusion of state and federal directives, and often the very intent of the laws. They

joked about her seriousness and were either neutral or hostile to her efforts to generate continued actions to implement sex equity in the district.

The low status of the group and of the Title IX Coordinator are evidenced by their subordination to other system priorities such as parent conferences, paperwork, and other meetings. The Title IX Coordinator and the cadre were vested with complete responsibility for sex equity in Blue Range. For their part, the cadre and the coordinator seemed unwilling or unable to extend responsibility to others through disseminating their ideas and involving others in the district. This pattern is a repetition in the larger system of a pattern that occurred within the cadre group. Total responsibility for the project at the group level was vested in one person, the Title IX Coordinator. She appeared unwilling or unable to extend responsibility to others in the group. This mutually reinforcing cycle served to maintain a status quo of pro forma compliance and superficial change.

Communication channels in the district were described by members of the system as inefficient and restricted. The Title IX Coordinator's memos to the group, for example, often were not received, not read, or "put in the circular file." The activities and purpose of the cadre teachers were not widely publicized and project teachers did not discuss the project with peers or share project ideas and materials. The state self-assessment forms were incorrectly administered and treated as another routine task to be completed with the least amount of time and effort. Again, the Title IX Coordinator's attempt to engender discussion and interaction among the staff was thwarted by

system patterns of autonomy and independent functioning that mitigated collaboration.

Teacher characteristics. The cadre teachers' behavior in the meetings demonstrated their concern about their own effectiveness. They talked about being overwhelmed within their own classrooms and repeatedly stated their insecurity about attempting to disseminate their ideas to others in the district. The four elementary teachers and the middle school teacher either had continued to implement sex equity related actions in their own classrooms or had plans to do so eventually but were reluctant to extend their work beyond the classroom. The secondary teachers voiced difficulties with even the minimum continuation of new strategies within their own classes and all but one dropped out of the project completely.

The teachers in the cadre did not appear to feel supported by anyone outside of their own small group and the Title IX Coordinator. They were suspicious of the other administrators and felt their own peers were either hostile or apathetic about project ideals. They clearly felt all of these factors restricted their personal power to effect change.

External environment. The external threat posed by Proposition 2½ was clearly a pressing concern of all members of the district as evidenced by the amount of time spent discussing it. Many of the project teachers expressed feelings of depression and helplessness in the face of budget cuts they felt they had no power to effect. One plan of action presented by their teachers' association was to gather community support for an override of the tax cut. Many teachers

believed the community was hostile to them and felt it would be a futile effort even though there was evidence that an override had a good chance of passing. Eventually an override of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ was approved by the voters.

Steady state characteristics. The steady state characteristics identified in Blue Range will be discussed in more detail following the interview section. Two aspects, however, stand out from the observations of the cadre. One aspect that the cadre identified as a significant departure from standard operating procedures in the district was the cross-level interaction provided by the cadre training. Every single teacher who participated in the training identified this as one of the most unique and beneficial aspects of the project and for those who were most enthusiastic about continuing, the opportunity for cross-level collaboration was a prime motivation. This fact suggests that Blue Range can be characterized by loose coupling with little sustained cross-level communication and interaction flowing through the system.

A second aspect that stands out in the observation data is the focus in staff meetings, cadre meetings, and memoranda with administrative procedures and routine practices. Little, if any, discussion of educational issues occurred in the meetings observed for this study. Attempts to bring about such discussion were thwarted by the apparent lack of experience in conducting or participating in such discussions. The staff meeting at the high school to conduct the self-assessment for the state is a case in point. This is not to say that individuals in the district did not have educational concerns

but rather that formal and commonly utilized channels for discussion of these concerns did not appear to be a regularity in the system.

Many of the factors and themes identified in this section can be traced and elaborated upon in the examination of the formal interviews conducted with both cadre teachers and other members of the district concurrent with the observation phase. The next section presents the interview data and continues to trace the themes emergent in the course of the study.

Section Two: Interviews

Method. Twenty-nine interviews were conducted over a four month period from November 1981 to February 1982. These interviews were from one to two hours in duration. The respondents included: the cadre teachers, other teachers from each level of the system, administrators from each level and building in the system, top district officials including the superintendent and two school committee members, the state civil rights officer, and one of the field representatives from CEE. Diagram 4 shows the number of persons interviewed by role.

The interviews were recorded on audiotape. Later they were transcribed onto a guide by question and response (see Interview Schedule, Appendix B). These transcriptions were partially verbatim and partially paraphrased responses. Each respondent was assigned a code number. Individual responses were then collated by question and role for ease of identification and comparison of response patterns. Data from the interviews are presented with I-# (code number) to allow the reader to identify the sample quotes used from the interviews.

DIAGRAM 4: Interviews Conducted in Blue Range

Role Group	Number of Persons Interviewed
<hr/>	
<u>Federal Representation</u>	
CEE Project Coordinator	1
<u>State Representation</u>	
State Civil Rights Officer	1
<u>District Management</u>	
Superintendent	1
School Committee	2
Athletic Director	1
Elementary Education Director	1
Title IX Coordinator	1
<u>Building Administration</u>	
High School Principal	1
High School Vice-Principal	1 (same as Title IX Coordinator)
Middle School Principal	1
Elementary Principals	3 (including Elementary Ed Director)
<u>Teaching Staff</u>	
High School	7
Middle School	5
Elementary School	<u>5</u>
Total Interviews	29
<hr/>	

An independent coder, unfamiliar with the field of education, transcribed four of the tapes selected according to the random numbers table. The independent coder, using the Interview Schedule in Appendix B, was asked for each question to identify the appropriate category for subject response and to select an exemplary quote that supported the category. Comparison of the cross-coded interviews revealed that, in most instances, the category and the quoted material selected were the same or were closely related to those selected by the investigator.

The Interview Guide (Appendix B) was used in all formal interviews. The questions in the guide sought to elicit data about those factors influencing the implementation and continuation of the sex equity project in Blue Range. The sensitizing concepts derived from the literature on change in schools (Diagram 3) provided focus for the questions.

The results of the interviews are reported in five parts. The first part summarizes the interview data specific to the cadre teachers. The next three parts summarize data from the rest of the interview by role group under the categories: initiation, implementation, and continuation. The final part summarizes the major themes which emerged in the interviews according to the same categories used to summarize the interview section and elaborated in Diagram 3.

The cadre teachers. The first part of the interview with the cadre teachers focused on their specific training (Section G - p. 8). The

interviewer sought to assess the following: the clarity of their understanding of project goals, the continued effects of training and perceived usefulness to their current work on sex equity, the current status and outcomes of their action plans, and any new efforts undertaken since the end of training.

The purpose of the cadre training was to develop an in-house group of experts who, through collaboration and cross-level support, could design and implement solutions to inequities and who could continue to be catalysts for change once federal support ended. The cadre training had consisted of two parts: district-wide training sessions with an outside consultant and grade-level working sessions led by district teachers. The district-wide training sessions were held approximately once a month and the grade-level working sessions occurred biweekly in the interim. The monthly training meetings provided direction and reinforcement for the biweekly meetings. A specific collaborative problem solving process was learned and used by the group throughout the training period. The consultant also provided training in group process as well as expertise and information about sex equity on an "as needed" basis. The grade level meetings encouraged the group to work together independently in their own context to analyze problem situations and design potential solutions. The monthly sessions provided a prototype for cross-level support to continue.

When interviewed in the year following training, cadre members clearly identified the purpose of training:

to get a collective look at the system in specific areas, where we are now, what needs to change, and how we can support each other in changing practices that go on in the schools (I-018).

The training involved heuristic learning through identification and examination of gender inequities as they arose in the classrooms and buildings of these teachers rather than a pre-packaged presentation of the issues by an outside consultant. This training mode was also commented upon in the interviews.

(The training provided) not only awareness but help to work through our own stereotypes, see ourselves more clearly in relation to our own beliefs and give us a chance to face ourselves and to develop something concrete we could use in the system and in our own classrooms (I-025).

It provided a concrete method for coming up with ideas and problem-solving where we could reason things out (I-009).

Showed us how to look a little more closely, a technique for looking at our own values and how we can change, increase awareness, revise the curriculum and work together as a team (I-019).

A lot of good thoughts from within fresh ideas . . . we did a lot of things for ourselves (I-015).

The action plans developed during the cadre training included both individual and collaborative projects. The individual projects fell generally into three categories: curriculum content, interaction patterns among students, and interaction patterns between teacher and student. The collaborative projects focused on interdepartmental and school-wide patterns such as examining career education in a system-wide context, redesigning the intramural program to encourage more girls to participate, and revising departmental curriculum content and emphasis.

The results of these action plans a year later fell into one of three categories: no action and no plans to continue, no action but plans to continue eventually, and continued action. The individual actions fell primarily into the second two categories. Most of the teachers were either continuing some actions or had plans to do so at some point in the school year.

At the high school all but two teachers named some specific actions they were taking or were planning to take during the current school year. These included: a lesson on stereotyping, one teacher making sure he used nonsexist language, a physical education unit on volley-tennis that integrated students and encouraged collaboration, reorganization of a classroom where boys and girls had traditionally segregated themselves, and discussions with the female math students about career opportunities. Only one teacher said he had no plans to continue.

At the middle school one teacher was continuing to teach a unit on stereotyping in commercials and television programming and said he was integrating other material on sex equity into his regular units. The other teacher was not currently doing anything but had plans to focus on stereotyping at some future point.

The elementary teachers named several actions they were continuing to take. These included lining children up in nonsexist ways, watching their language, discussing careers as non-gender based, encouraging girls and boys to behave in nontraditional ways, i.e., encouraging boys to express emotion, encouraging girls to show their

muscles, and using nonsexist curriculum materials. All of the elementary teachers were presently continuing some action to combat sex inequities in their individual classrooms.

Most of the cadre teachers expressed positive feelings about their actions and attempts to implement equity within their classrooms.

I spend more conscious time in class and I'm more confident about addressing (inequities), I feel less afraid to tackle it now . . . the training was a reinforcement for me, it made me notice my own competency which was lovely (I-001).

Yes, I'm still doing what I started last year, integrating it more into my regular program rather than as a separate unit. I still use the special unit on TV stereotypes. The low ability kids really got into it, lots of good came out of it (I-007).

I use the occupation unit we did and the ways of lining kids up in nonsexist ways. I talk about what boys and girls can do, day to day things I say to the kids. Nothing you would notice but I do (I-008).

However, not one of the collaborative action plans was continued in the year following training. The obvious difficulty teachers had in continuing the collaborative action plans was in marked contrast to the enthusiasm with which they discussed this aspect of the training.

The most relevant thing was watching a very discouraged group, with help and with a process, actually begin to accomplish things (I-018).

It was a good thing to bring people together from different levels just to let us hear and get a sense of whats happening in other schools . . . the inter-departmental aspects were interesting for me too. We're so isolated . . . we profitted from hearing other teachers talk . . . the subject matter itself was secondary to providing the opportunity for that interaction (I-012).

The most important part was being part of the group, having our ideas valued, being listened to, working through tense situations (I-009).

Why would people who benefitted so obviously from working with their colleagues in a collaborative way be unable or unwilling to continue this process in the year following withdrawal of federal support? .

In order to explore the answers to this question the interviews turned to an examination of broader district patterns by asking district members to assess how the project was initiated in their district, give their analysis of the district's commitment to the project, and provide their perspectives on the change process in Blue Range. These questions were designed to reveal the implicit patterns in the district that supported or impeded continuation of the cadre group and system-wide efforts at change. Because cadre teachers had the same experience as all other teachers in the district with regard to the general inservice training, their responses are integrated with those of their peers for this section. The responses are reported by role group under the categories: mobilization, implementation, and continuation.

Mobilization. Research on change shows that the seeds sown during the mobilization or initiation phase of an innovation affect all other stages of the process. Mobilization issues relate to how the project was initiated in the district, what peoples' initial perceptions were of its purpose and significance, and what types of support were generated for the project in the early stages. This part summarizes the interview data which describe the mobilization process in Blue Range and the initial perceptions of CEE held by various groups in the system.

District management. The federal representative from CEE described her initial contact with the district and provided background information (I-030). At the time CEE first contacted Blue Range in the Fall of 1979 to describe their services and availability, local districts were just beginning to struggle with the implications of Title IX and Chapter 622. Newspaper articles about court cases, especially in the areas of athletics and coaching salaries, employment patterns in administration, and career education and counselling, were spotlighting the Title IX Coordinator and some of its implications for schools. Blue Range like many other districts had inequities in these areas. The Title IX Coordinator was having trouble coping with all the work and responsibility and as the issues became clearer and more public, local school leaders were in need of advice. The superintendent described this period.

We were floundering, we didn't understand the issues or how to deal with them . . . there was no regular form of help in interpreting the laws (I-010).

The State Civil Rights Officer had made some preliminary contacts in Blue Range but according to the superintendent they "were probably no better prepared than we were." The Civil Rights Officer agreed with this assessment, said she received her on-the-job training through attending CEE training sessions in the state, and added that the state also had difficulty being in the dual role of enforcer and helper (I-029).

Within one week of learning of CEE's existence, the superintendent made a formal request for services. He viewed CEE as "valuable resource people" whose purpose was "to assist local districts in

meeting their obligations under Title IX." For him, CEE's arrival on the scene was timely and would provide much needed assistance in coping with several pressing issues (I-010).

Early on, the superintendent recommended that CEE train the school committee in order to get support for implementing recommendations and conducting training with the rest of the staff of the district. According to the two school committee members interviewed, CEE was seen as a group who would "keep us out of trouble" and "help us implement Title IX/622" (I-024,027). They said they felt under "trememdous pressure" at the time to resolve some of the issues facing them especially with regard to athletics and hiring practices. They found CEE's advice in these matters to be "very helpful" and "practical."

Building administration. The first action taken by CEE after receiving superintendent and school committee support was to conduct a needs assessment with a sample of the district population. The purpose of the needs assessment, according to the CEE representative, was to identify areas of need in meeting the requirements of Title IX and to establish goals to meet these needs through training and technical assistance. One intention of inviting a sample of the district population to the needs assessment was to begin to build a broad base of support (I-030). Although requested by CEE, parent and student representatives were never included by the district in a needs assessment meeting. Two or three such meetings occurred at different phases in the project and are summarized here as one process.

According to the federal agent the initial needs assessment or "compliance review" was a "heated three hour discussion" attended by about 20 members of the district, primarily building administrators and athletic and physical education personnel. Several problem areas in Blue Range were identified: inequities in athletic opportunities for girls and boys especially at the 9th grade level, wide discrepancies in coaching salaries for men and women, and a lack of female role models in administration (I-030).

In later interviews, several administrators and members of the athletic staff stated their beliefs that they were already in compliance with the law, were resistant to further examination of the issues, and felt CEE was being "nitpicky" in the areas they identified as problematic. From the superintendent's viewpoint:

There was very little awareness in the district.
It took almost a year before administrators would even take it seriously, some thought it was a joke . . . even today there are pockets who don't think its important (I-010).

Another administrator reflected the attitudes of the majority of his colleagues when he said he saw it as "just another thing to chew up my time . . . we were already doing things and we were ahead of alot of other districts I know of" (I-017).

Two incidents described in the interviews may have contributed to the resistance expressed by these two groups. The first incident concerned a review of the athletic budget to equalize salaries and expenditures for males and females. In the interview with the Athletic Director, he reported that the superintendent had sent his budget to an outside consultant for review without his prior knowledge. The

consultant reviewed the budget, made proposals for change, and was brought in to aid the athletic director in making the recommended changes. He described this as a "political" issue in which "there were alot of factions going on . . . I was very disturbed that they were going around robin's barn to do it instead of coming up front" (I-014). Knowledge about this incident was open among the physical education and athletic staff and may have contributed to their view that CEE was there "to police us and make us follow the law" (I-015).

The second incident involved the hiring procedure used by one principal in filling a quasi-administrative position in his building. A grievance had been filed under Title IX claiming that equal opportunity for women had been denied. The superintendent reprimanded this principal in the presence of two CEE representatives who then helped to rewrite the policy so it would be more clear and equitable. The hiring process was then repeated and the second time a woman was selected. The man who had originally been told he had the job then filed a counter grievance. This incident was widely discussed in the interviews and apparently drew teachers and administrators throughout the system into heated discussion and polarized staff in the building where it occurred (I-023).

These two incidents may have influenced hwo many people in the district formed their initial impression of the sex equity project and served to crystallize opinion on the topics of women in administration and athletics. These two areas were repeatedly defended as not the result of conscious discrimination and as very difficult to change without being "unfair." For the people involved it seemed to

engender a defensiveness about current practices that colored their subsequent reactions to the training and implementation plans held by district managers. Although every administrator and physical education person interviewed verbally expressed support for sex equity, most of them defended current practices and argued that change in these areas had to be slow.

Teachers. Only a few teachers were involved in a needs assessment and for most of the teachers in the district their first official knowledge of CEE and its purpose was immediately prior to the day of inservice training in the Fall of 1980. The few teachers who were requested to participate in a needs assessment described their impressions in the interviews.

I assumed we were being evaluated for compliance. I guess the district was chosen at random or through some politicking. A report was filed, data collected, and they told us they were able to provide resources if asked. People there had a general feeling the issue was absurd. There was lots of joking . . . I felt people weren't taking the issue seriously . . . a couple people were irritated by the short notice and not knowing the purpose of being there (I-012).

They talked about legal aspects and what the center did . . . at the end we were supposed to fill out some long form that everyone grumbled and groaned about and I guess that was the basis for the evaluation or needs assessment . . . the general reaction was 'more B.S., oh boy, a sex workshop just what we need right now,' joking. It was just after 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ passed so everyone thought, 'Oh God, one more thing' (I-007).

When other teachers in the district did find out about the project many of them expressed similar views of the district leadership's rationale for participating in the project.

They were being held accountable and they thought therefore it was their obligation to at least expose us to this and puts us in the position of 'well, we

told you about this' . . . alot of the older teachers thought the administration was putting this on them to cover themselves (I-009).

It was for press, public relations, to say to people 'we're meeting the requirements of the law, we're progressive people" (I-019).

I looked at it as a legal thing. They were fulfilling their obligations (I-022).

It was the law, just another inservice, typical, mandatory . . . (I-008).

Almost without exception teachers tended to define administrative motivation for participating as opportunistic and political. The majority described this involvement as reactive to external pressures, i.e., legal mandates, public relations, and public image rather than as a proactive attempt to reach an important educational goal.

Prior history of innovation. When asked to compare the implementation of sex equity with previous innovations a typical response was:

It was not unusual, the 'in' thing at the time. When something is the in thing we have workshops, for example we had career education a few years back, then special education was the big thing for awhile. The same sequence was followed. Training is typical. So we're coming in with sex equity, fine, its the in thing so we'll have workshops (I-011).

One example of an innovation cited often in the interviews was the introduction of mainstreaming a few years previously. Since it was also the result of a legal mandate, Chapter 766, the comparison is apt. One administrator who was instrumental in this change described the process.

The whole elementary was reorganized after 766 to eliminate resource rooms (and integrate special education students into the rest of the population). This

was a very rapid change, too rapid, we overreacted to the law, especially the first six months . . . teachers were very negative. Over 1/3 of the teachers were transferred, practically everyone involuntarily . . . it was called 'black Wednesday' (I-021).

From an elementary teacher's perspective "administrators drew up the plan . . . then it was up to teachers and parents to make the best of that situation" (I-026). Another teacher from the high school level analyzed and summed up the process from her perspective and made a direct comparison between 766 and Title IX.

A variety of government regulations have been handed down over the years, this was one more thing. I didn't get a sense of excitement. In general, teachers feel overburdened and anything new is one more thing so there's a kind of cynicism, skepticism, apathy. When 766 came along there was a lot of 'everything's gonna be different now' and we worked and worked and worked and nothing happened. That seemed to be even more of a big deal than sex equity. We had workshop after workshop and new positions created. I thought that was gonna be a huge change and as I look back on it now there's nothing much going on (I-012).

They also drew comparisons with change projects that were internally generated such as the recent transformation from a junior high to a middle school system. The basic process was described in essentially the same way.

The school committee and the superintendent wanted to close down two ineffective buildings. Their solution was to put the 9th grade at the high school. That was the motivation. We created a middle school by changing the name over the door and raising the floor under one urinal. A lot of committees were set up to work on developing things. People were required to serve by the principal. I don't think any of what that committee did was ever implemented. We put a lot of energy and time into how to open the new school. Ultimately the principal made the decision based on expediency (I-002).

These comments characterize the process of change in Blue Range as typically top-down initiated and opportunistic, at least in the eyes of teachers.

Implementation. The implementation stage of an innovation is the second major factor affecting continuation. Issues in the implementation phase include: clarity of project goals and methods, perceived relevance of the training and implementation strategies, and staff support activities. The implementation phase of the CEE project involved training for every member of the district (see Diagram 1). Ideally this would have increased awareness and action system-wide and created a supportive environment for the cadre efforts to continue the equity project.

Superintendent and school committee training. The superintendent attended the school committee training, the administrative training, and part of the inservice teacher training and thus had an overall view of the implementation process. From his perspective there were four levels of implementation. On his level, he received ongoing advice and technical assistance from CEE in their regular meetings (Category A, p. 8). He described these meetings as "dealing with whatever problem came up" and evaluated the help he received very positively.

I can't recall a meeting with them where I didn't come away with something that was useful to me or felt that my job was being made a little easier because they were around. I appreciated having them . . . relatively short meetings. Generally, we got to and dealt with the issues, I came away feeling accomplishment. Planning concrete strategies was helpful (I-010).

The second level was the school committee training (Category B, p. 9) whose purpose the superintendent defined as "to get their support for the effort to create awareness with staff about sex discrimination and its problems." He also evaluated this training favorably. "I think that purpose was accomplished. There never was any opposition even from those people who didn't attend . . . I got what I wanted out of it, that was supportive of what I wanted to do" (I-010).

The third level of implementation was with administrators and athletic/physical education staff (Categories C and D, p. 8). The superintendent defined the purpose as "creating awareness" and "developing a system-wide action plan." He evaluated this training as somewhat successful given the resistance of members of these groups. "Administrators are much more aware, even the most chauvinistic ones. Coaches were one of the toughest areas and they're more comfortable with it now."

The fourth level was training teachers in a general inservice day (Category F, p. 9). In the superintendent's view, "for teachers it was more awareness than action. Looking at their role as models and how they treat kids." He felt "some teachers made a positive approach" but noted that some "felt it was a personal attack." The majority of teachers he characterized as "unconcerned."

In reflecting back on all the staff training, the superintendent gave this evaluation:

Inservice was less positive than the others. I think administrators and coaches, PE people, probably felt they had more of a stake. That there was some responsibility on their part to do something. Particularly administrators and department heads because they're responsible for selecting curriculum materials. When

you get to a group of classroom teachers many of them look at this as "not my problem. I don't select curriculum materials. I don't place kids in classes." So the relevance to that person is low compared to relevance to administrators . . . From watching teachers, the kinds of questions they asked the administrative meeting had less questions of an antagonistic nature. Teachers are more critical or defensive. Administrators were not, they were looking for solutions. Administrators don't look at it as a personal attack on them whereas a teacher does (I-010).

His assessment of teacher and administrator reaction to the training contrasts with their own evaluation of the training and shows a misinterpretation on his part of teacher dissatisfaction with the inservice.

The superintendent did not comment on the cadre training (Category G, p. 9) other than to say he was pleased with their efforts the previous year and that they were "probably preoccupied with 2½" this year. When asked if he had any current plans to continue actions related to sex equity he replied "no I don't think so, other than the fact I'm more aware."

The two school committee members interviewed described their training as "focused on athletics and budget because those were the questions we were asking" (I-024). They both evaluated the training as "very relevant" and felt that CEE was "supportive in the effort to bring equality without carrying it to the ridiculous or extreme." They reported that the training continued to influence the committee.

I do know that we have been very careful to try to find women administrators. Before that, all of our courses were open to everyone. We were already on the right track. The sports issue was the main one we didn't have a handle on yet . . . Proposition 2½ has knocked out a great deal but its equal. Cuts in home ec and industrial arts are equal. We could cut a whole language or english department and no one would care. But just

let us try to cut one sport and the whole town turns out. The pressure is terrible. Football, hockey, to try to cut back on these is very difficult. If we cut back the girls we wouldn't have this mass of people. A few women incensed maybe. We just can't back off on that (I-027).

So, despite pressure the school committee planned to continue some of the actions they had previously initiated.

When asked to evaluate the training provided for other role groups the school committee members said they did not have any involvement in that. "I don't think I was aware of it" (I-027). They referred this responsibility to the Title IX Coordinator. "We felt (the Title IX Coordinator) was doing a good job. She was doing it. We didn't have to do anything about it" (I-024). They did say they felt that "teachers have been very willing right along" and that "administrators have been very cooperative in carrying these things out."

Administration and PE. This group had three to four full days of training. Every person interviewed from this group characterized the training as mandatory. One administrator described his initial reaction.

I was one of many who initially joked about it. The super set it up so we had to go, but we felt that we weren't biased. 'What the hell,' and we joked about it. As the sessions went on, most of us became aware that this was serious business (I-020).

Most of those interviewed said the training provided "useful information" and "increased awareness." Those who were negative said they felt the system "was already making efforts" to comply and that these weren't being acknowledged. A few said they felt they were being "talked down to."

Some were unkind, called it a waste of time. 'What do we have to know this for.' Others were not that open or verbal but would remark 'It was interesting to know that . . . ' Most felt 'this is fine for administrators but teachers should get involved, they are the more direct agents of change' (I-017).

When asked about any individual plans to change as a result of their training, half said they had no plans to do anything differently as a result. The others talked about "increased awareness" and plans to observe events in their schools with "new eyes" but when pressed to detail specific plans, most had nothing concrete in mind. Only two administrators talked specifically about concrete plans to change their discipline procedures so that boys and girls were not treated differently. The most specific report was from one administrator who talked about changes in his interactions with girls and boys in his elementary school.

Yes, I've worked on discipline . . . I make a conscious effort. This may be small but I used to let the girls give me a hug and I would push the boys away. And I decided 'hey, what's wrong with that?' And now I allow it. There's a guide for evaluating curriculum that I put in each teacher's room and sometime this year we'll walk through it (I-020).

This was the only example of change in personal patterns of interaction given by an administrator. Other administrators who gave examples, cited policy changes such as no longer advertising scholarships and employment opportunities without reference to gender and telling teachers they should use curriculum guides to make sure they were non-sexist. Most of these changes had been initiated in the previous year in response to the audit and no new examples of action taken in the current year were given.

According to the federal agent and the superintendent, a group administrative action plan had been designed during training. Neither had a copy of this plan and there were no follow up activities mentioned. The interviewer asked each administrator what happened to this action plan. None of them recalled such a plan except for the Title IX Coordinator who could not remember what it was and did not have a written copy. One administrator expressed the majority response.

I can't think of one thing that came out of any of it that we did. We were already doing it. Any changes were in process or already made. I can't say that after the training any action was made or taken. It had already been happening (I-017).

The actions he was referring to that had already occurred were the changes to coeducational classes in industrial arts, home economics, and physical education.

The physical education faculty more than any other role group expressed frustration with the training and fear of legal action against them. This threat may have been based on the fact that the change to coeducational classes was a major focus and an overt and observable process. They were receiving alot of the district's attention and were closely monitored by the administration. Whatever the reason, this group felt both more in need of help from training and more critical of what the training offered.

It was helpful learning the law and what had to be done. And we had some questions about what we were expected to do answered. But not the solutions to making it work (I-015).

They just didn't like the finger pointed at them. They liked getting help like having questions answered about the legality part . . . the negative part was the pointing finger part, the 'you're gonna get in

trouble' part . . . we appreciate help as long as it doesn't feel like your job's being threatened, that someone's always gonna be coming into your school looking over your shoulder (I-014).

Only one member of the physical education department described an action she took as a result of the training but said "I got put down for it" (I-004). She stated that the changes required were too much given their current staff limitations and the faculty resources needed to initiate CEE's suggestions. This member gave up after one attempt and joined her colleagues in naming the barriers and limitations to successful implementation of sex equity in physical education.

Inservice with teachers. Prior to the inservice day, most teachers in Blue Range were unaware that district administration had been involved with CEE for over a year and a half. For most teachers, their first knowledge of the CEE project was gained the day the mandated inservice training was announced. They perceived this as "another isolated inservice day" without context and were unaware that the same topic was being explored system-wide.

We were not even aware that the high school and middle school were having the same training that day. Unfortunately there's not alot of communication among the three levels (I-026).

Teachers did, however, have a prior history with the issue of sex equity that had bearing on their response to this inservice training. In the previous four years since passage of the laws, district members had been required to fill out a self-assessment for the state each year. According to the Title IX Coordinator, they were initially supportive and conscientious in completing the task but each year had gotten more resistant to the paperwork. In an attempt to change the

format the year CEE was to lead inservice, administrators had given teachers a "quiz" on their knowledge of the law and equity issues. One high school teacher described her reaction to this event and its impact on the training offered by CEE:

(The principal) gave us this quiz. We had to fill it out and decide what's sexist. We were told this was a pre-questionnaire to the training so immediately everyone hated who was coming in. It pissed everyone off. At the end he read off the answers and asked 'any discussion?' meaning, 'keep quiet.' and the meeting was dismissed. It was a terrible, terrible experience . . . people went around fuming the next day . . . so people came to the first day of training very hostile (I-001).

Another teacher from the elementary level described the same event in her building:

A test was given at a faculty meeting by the principal. It was brief, something you had to fill out, and that was that. People thought they were being evaluated. Thought that the scores were going to the superintendent. The principal's attitude was 'do it as fast as possible and get it over with so people won't get upset.' I think people went away with a sense of 'well, that makes sense, I know that.' I think the purpose of the quiz was to find out what areas we needed help with to be used in a future workshop (I-006).

Teachers almost unanimously identified the purpose of this inservice training to be the district managers' attempt to enforce accountability to the law.

The system wanted to expose us to 'hey, this is a real issue and you're going to be held accountable' (I-009).

Despite the voiced resentment about mandatory attendance, many teachers said they found the training to be "interesting" and "informative." Several said they went back to their classrooms afterward and examined their curriculum and behaviors. The major concern they

voiced was to be fair to all of their students. They talked about new learnings but when asked to identify specific actions taken as a result of training there were very few concrete examples given.

Just a little more awareness, like how I line kids up, who I give praise to, things like that. It made me stop and think 'I have to be more careful, I don't want to imply that' and watch my language (I-009).

I came back and looked at how I interact with the kids. Just being aware helps. Sometimes its so sub-conscious and subjective it would help to have someone from outside come in and point things out . . . show me how to integrate the topic into what I'm already doing, how to increase kids' awareness (I-026).

For the majority of teachers increased awareness did not necessarily lead to behavior change, at least as expressed by their responses to the inservice training.

When teachers were asked to express their general evaluation of this workshop day, the responses from all three levels were very similar. A small number of teachers were very enthusiastic, the majority were indifferent, and a small number were negative or hostile.

High School: Because we've had so many isolated workshops over the years with no follow through, the general feeling is 'it's a fill in, we had a day and here's another one shot deal' and never being sure anything would follow. They all blur. "There's another day wasted." People were also very upset about the lack of heat and had a suspicion the assistant superintendent was saving money (I-012).*

Middle School: People weren't too happy. They felt it could have been spent in more constructive ways . . .

*The suspicion about the heat was apparently widespread because it was mentioned by several people at the other two levels as well.

Those who were aware when they came in may have walked out with more but others would not, would be unchanged (I-007).

Elementary: People were very bitter, 'hey, this was a waste of our time. I could be doing a million other things.' This was the typical reaction. The program was not as successful as it could have been. 'Here we go again.' Those who were already into it like it. The expectations of paperwork, the quiz turned people off. People feel like inservice is above and beyond (I-009).

A lot of people looked at it as 'just something else I have to do in my classroom, something else laid on me that I have to start dealing with.' It was right after 2½ was voted in so we were not in an upbeat mood, people were depressed, didn't know really who would be around after the cuts (I-026).

These descriptions of teacher attitudes toward inservice provide some evidence that inservice, regardless of content, engenders resistance, hostility, and apathy in many teachers. Many people in Blue Range saw inservice as "above and beyond." With regard to the CEE project, teachers had no sense of an overall plan and where inservice fit into it. From their perspective no sense of concerted implementation was identified. This would indicate that inservice as the mechanism for change may have been doomed to failure at the outset.

Continuation. Factors in the continuation phase of an innovation include district leadership and support for the innovation, school climate and organizational patterns and teacher belief in their own effectiveness. These patterns ultimately determine the potential for long term continuation of an innovation. In the interviews people were asked to provide their assessment of the long term prospects and district support for sex equity in Blue Range and to list what they

saw as the obstacles and supports for continuation. They were also asked to discuss how they viewed the process of and prospects for change in general in their system.

Long term prospects and district support for sex equity.

District management. The superintendent believed that support for sex equity would continue to exist but not in as focused or directed a way as during the CEE Project.

I think it's still there (commitment for sex equity). The problem is we don't have the intensity like when the Center was here. We don't have the impetus. We tend to get distracted by other things . . . not as high a priority as other things . . . talk to people who participated in the (cadre) last spring. They will tell you they are more distracted due to 2½. They have more students, are worried about layoffs. The feeling of insecurity effects how we deal with everything, especially sex equity as an issue that requires commitment and intensity that's above and beyond (I-010).

He identified district leadership as the single most important factor to continuation. He himself was retiring after 18 years as superintendent in Blue Range and did not believe the current school committee would provide continued leadership once he left. In his view, the primary determinant of continuation would be whether or not his successor supported the effort.

We're gonna have a change of leadership this summer and with the present committee and their philosophy it will depend on the new superintendent. Without a push from here the thing will just die. (The Title IX Coordinator) may want to do something but without support from this office, she's not gonna (I-010).

The superintendent also believed that continuation would be prevented if the state and federal government did not continue to push the issue. "If no one's monitoring it, it will go down the drain."

The school committee members interviewed believed, on the other hand, that the district was "100% committed" to sex equity and that even if the makeup of the committee changed sex equity "is here to stay" (024). As evidence they cited:

Sports, course material and texts, teachers have had their workshop on it, I don't see any places ahead where we have a great problem. Language wise everything has been changed on contracts, etc., to he/she . . . The only place there would be any inequality would be in administration and we just haven't been discussing it this year. Most of the things have been taken care of (027).

The other committee member agreed and stated "2½ is the biggest thing to affect decision-making and that has absolutely no effect on it . . . if we have to knock off sports its gonna be boys and girls." (024) Nevertheless, they did not rank sex equity as a top priority of the district or as something that needed to be further addressed.

Building administration. This role group had a range of responses which were summed up by one administrator in terms of leadership and financial support.

District commitment? If the new superintendent doesn't support it, it will have an effect system wide. Individual administrators will continue but it will hurt. One person already treats it as a big joke which I find unfortunate and he's influential with the younger ones. It takes away from the seriousness of how the superintendent views it. 2½ may cut offerings, there may be discrimination because of lack of funds (020).

In addition to the importance of leadership and budget restraints, administrators also mentioned the press of other priorities:

Like anything else, priorities have to be established. I can't say it (commitment to sex equity) isn't because of the regulations. I wouldn't put it up there with other programming needs. Let me put it this way, we haven't talked about it this year (005).

They identified the school committee as less than likely to actively support Title IX. "Not that they're indifferent, it's just not a priority. Now they're more conservative, and while the law is the law, they would say there's too much federal regulation" (I-017). They also believed the "activist teachers" had no energy and the "majority" of other teachers were "indifferent."

Among the factors they identified as likely to prevent continuation were: withdrawal of the state mandate, the cost of implementation, and other priorities and concerns.

As long as the state mandates a report it will be okay. If you don't have a (the Title IX Coordinator) to keep the focus going or if the state pulled back its horns, you wouldn't have an annual or semiannual focus and that would be a drawback (020).

The factors they identified as likely to promote continuation were their own awareness as the result of training and the status quo. "What's in place will stay in place." One administrator mentioned the cadre and the Title IX Coordinator as continuing and believed "that force is still in operation" (I-003). However, they also saw sex equity as low on the priority list and named several other issues as taking precedence. Sex equity is only a priority "in terms of what to avoid" (I-021). One administrator represented similar remarks from his colleagues and their ambivalence toward the law:

I don't think there's going to be anything that's overt. For those who feel we're overregulated it's a red flag. It's not something to embrace simply because it's the law. It's something not to embrace simply because I don't want anything forced down my throat. While I think there's a good feeling about equity now, a feeling of fairness and fair play, if that guides

official actions of people, the official actions of administrators, the actions of teachers in classrooms, school committees, then it won't lose anything (I-017).

Teachers. The majority of teachers were skeptical about district commitment to the project. Many of them thought any continuation would be only in response to the legal mandate and good public relations.

Yes, there's support, but support as far as help I don't think there's much. Support as far as the law. Support comes in checking and making sure we're doing it as opposed to support with different ideas and thoughts in making it work better. The only support is to make sure we abide by the law (I-015).

They are only motivated by legal concerns and looking good (I-002).

Minimal, practically none. There's no real interest in what we're doing. I felt like it was more obligation. If you put a geiger counter on sincerity of interest, nobody gave a _____ except if it makes the system look good . . . no genuine commitment (I-001).

A few believed the project would continue because of the Title IX Coordinator but others were skeptical about her power to keep it in the forefront as an issue.

It's basically ignored. I think I feel more now that there is an issue involved here that's not really being addressed because it's simply being ignored for the most part. It's more like they're allowing (the Title IX Coordinator) to do it. Nobody seems to be actively involved in pushing it or pursuing it. I haven't seen items come down in the newsletter the superintendent does or in staff meetings (I-025)

One teacher characterized the scope of continued commitment as only on the individual level.

At this point its really up to the individual teacher. No one is in here observing it. Only people with a personal commitment are likely to continue. Nothing

large scale. It's not part of the evaluation. . . .
 Everyone walks on eggshells about it so they won't get
 into trouble but no one evaluates you based on this.
 (I-009)

Those teachers who were committed personally to the issue felt very limited in their impact. "A lot of us feel we are treading water, we are not forging new ground." (I-021) One teacher summed up the general attitude of her colleagues:

Most people feel it's not an issue. So much depends on the individual administrator. As a real strong force I would say very little support exists for it. Last year I thought there was support for the issue but it was only a result of the evaluation (state audit). If the report hadn't stated a need for more inservice for teachers it would never have been done. That was a direct result of the audit. It all boils down to money. If it hadn't been done it might have affected the future budget, but now Proposition 2½ is so overwhelming that everything else gets pushed aside. (I-026)

Only two teachers out of the entire group interviewed believed there was any sincere district commitment to continue the effort to increase sex equity, and these two were skeptical of resource commitment.

If anyone in the system found a case of inequity and advised steps to remedy it the administration would support it. If made aware they will do everything possible to remedy it. Uh, if it's gonna take a major expenditure, then no. Anything without a major expenditure would be supported. (I-011)

When teachers were asked to identify the factors they felt would prevent continuation they identified three major barriers. The barrier most often mentioned was money. In their view financial constraints not only meant the "elimination of social programs" but a hindrance on teacher willingness to innovate.

Financial constraints are the most likely to stop it. There's an attitude of hanging onto jobs. People wouldn't be real assertive if they felt their job was threatened. A couple of years ago this would not have been a constraint. (I-026)

The second most often mentioned barriers were other priorities and the status quo.

Teachers and administrators feel they have enough to do without adding something new. It's easier just to continue on rather than face up to something and deal with it. (I-025)

This focus on other priorities was given as evidence for the lack of commitment to sex equity:

There's a feeling on the part of the people in power that it's not important as long as no one is screaming. It's either in the back of people's minds or out of their minds altogether. Other things are more important. As long as no one's thinking about it why push it? . . . I don't think it was any different last year. I really don't know how important people in this system think sex equity is. I think a lot of 'em feel, 'well, we're doing it any way so why make a big deal?' I'm not sure how much is being done. I think probably a lot more could be done. (I-007)

The third most often mentioned barrier to continuation had to do with organizational patterns including the authority structure and interaction patterns among teachers.

The authority structure prevents change. The structure of the institution in general is cockeyed. Authority is not spread out to the workers, it's jammed in one small group in charge of a large, dynamic group. You come into this system a teacher and you die a teacher . . . Need some way to get rid of the bitterness inside the profession. Decisions just don't seem to get implemented. (I-002).

We're very isolated. People have not been used to working together, don't know how to work together. (I-001).

When teachers were asked to name the factors they thought would promote continued efforts to achieve sex equity in their district they tended to name potential factors not existing ones. The only existing factors named were the current awareness of some staff, "People won't go back now they they're aware," and the continued pushing from the Title IX Coordinator, "If we don't have someone pushing on it the issue is ignored." (I-023)

The potential factors named that would support continuation were administrative support and leadership, "Maybe the new superintendent". . . and the provision of specific strategies.

We need specific strategies. Seeing how other teachers do it . . . we could use more help in specific things . . . Need ways to develop programs and activities, need more help from administration in providing help or service to their staff. (I-015)

Outside pressure was also names as a potential support for continuation:

Need outside pressure, parents pushing for it, teachers willing to spread the word in a diplomatic way. I automatically thing 'gee, there's not much hope,' not many things to encourage change. There doesn't seem to be a push for it. There has to be an incentive. Teachers are deathly afraid someone will find fault with them. The cadre group might have, really they were the only hope. No one else had an interest. (I-009)

Somebody's gotta raise a big stink about something. A specific problems had got to come up, either a group of parents saying 'hey this isn't being done and we want it done' or administration being told by state and federal government 'hey this is wrong and its gotta be changed.' Unless someone raises a big stink I don't think much will be accomplished. It's gonna take something to light a fire under this system to get things done. (I-007)

A few people thought that the current support of society in general and the fact that it had already been implemented would continue the innovation. "What's in place will stay in place" (I-017). These

perceptions emphasize factors beyond the schools' control and reinforce a sense that system members view themselves as powerless in the face of external forces.

School climate and organizational patterns. In every role group the standard operating procedure of the district was defined as "following the chain of command." This exact phrase was used so often that it was analyzed by the researcher as an indigenous typology. What "following the chain of command" meant to different role groups was explored in the interviews.

The superintendent described how the district operated and what the chain of command meant from his perspective:

The teachers have input through faculty meetings where they can indicate to principals the directions they want to go. Principals hold meetings with department heads. I meet regularly with administrators. From time to time I request reports. The superintendent's door is always open . . . Basically everybody has input, but priorities are really set by the superintendent. Committees may enunciate policy and may eventually vote priorities but the superintendent sets the tone and direction of the system. The school committee has to go along. They really don't have much choice. The average person is only on for three years. (I-010)

The school committee had a different definition of the chain of command. Although they identified the same process below the level of district management, they placed themselves above the superintendent as the ultimate authority in the district.

We tell the superintendent to present us with his recommendations and he in turn has regular meetings with administrators. (I-027)

The school committee has more input, more power than anyone else. If we feel something is important we at least have a way of putting it into the budget . . . there were years when the school committee was accused

of being led by the superintendent. He is the arm of the school committee now, not vice versa. Whoever comes in now is gonna understand that. The superintendent is the chief executive officer of the school committee and is gonna carry out its wishes. (I-024)

The school committee members also alluded to an informal process among teachers that counteracted the set chain of command. "They can pick up the phone and let us know if they're unhappy about something." (I-024) In addition, building principals had a direct line to the school committee. "Building principals have quite a bit of influence, they're where its at and we listen to them." (I-024)

Building level administrators frequently used the term "chain of command" as well. They described it as a process whereby "everybody has input."

You have to follow the chain of command. You have to go to your principal first and its best not to try to go over his head. Then it would go to the superintendent and the school committee. If you went over your building principal's head, the superintendent would tell you to go through the chain of command. (I-013)

Again, however, an informal procedure is disclosed which contradicts this process.

There have been teachers who went over the principal's head because they felt they were not getting anywhere and the superintendent has talked to them. There are people who have gone to the school committee but on the 'qt.' Alot of teachers here call the school committee for various reasons. They get on the telephone and talk but its strictly on the 'qt.' (I-013)

Another administrator had a slightly different description of the process.

Any change, its kind of an unwritten thing that you go through the chain. If you don't get satisfaction at the first level then you go to the next. I respect (the superintendent) for always allowing people to go to the school committee. (021)

Teachers. Teachers also frequently used the phrase "chain of command" but had some variations of their own. They named parents and community forces and described their own role.

The final decision rests with the school committee. The State probably initiates alot of it. They have alot of power. Parents probably have more influence than teachers. They have more than administrators. It depends on the situation. It's always the squeaky wheel that gets the grease. (I-022)

There is a set pattern called the chain of command. This is the way it's done. You go to your immediate supervisor, he goes to the administrator, or maybe it comes down the pike the other way. (I-220)

I think everyone can have input if they want to but basically it's the superintendent and school committee. The superintendent sets priorities and tone. If he's really for something he gets the school committee to recognize and accept it. (I-025)

(Blue Range) runs because of community pressure . . . they pressure the superintendent and committee who give directions to us. (I-006)

One teacher described how he would go about implementing a change:

I'd probably initially talk to my colleagues, people who's opinions I respected. From there I would take it to the building principal. Either he or I or both of us would take it to the superintendent. From there we go to the school committee. If they approve, that's the way it would be done. Probably the only way. With the superintendent being a former military man you follow the chain of command. (I-007)

The clear discrepancy between the formal chain of command and actual practices in Blue Range was named by every role group. However, not one person described the discrepancy as a conflict. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

Teacher sense of efficacy. In theory, teachers had an identified and informal avenue of input through the chain of command, but few believed they actually could be heard. A list of teacher statements about their own power to effect change in the system reveals a sense of impotence beyond their classroom doors despite the formal channels of influence previously identified.

Anything other than individual effort is impossible without support from the larger system. (I-001)

Teachers are always allowed to put all kinds of input into decisions and they're very rarely considered. I mean, most decisions are preconceived and then no matter what the teacher input it makes no difference. (I-002)

Teachers unfortunately do not have an awful lot of input. We do try but the system isn't much concerned with what teachers think. Administrators are defensive, have a 'we're in charge' attitude. In a push/pull situation like this it's hard to get a point across. (I-025)

Teachers are on committees but directives come from above. You have to fit into their directives. (I-006)

The superintendent and building principals they all get together and then they come to you and say 'this is the way its gonna be.' There are times when they say, 'well, let's see how you want it' and you suggest and it doesn't come down that way. (I-009)

Again, the formal channels of influence are shown to be counteracted by individual teacher perceptions and experience in the system.

Views of the process and prospects for change. Members of Blue Range tended to describe the change process as externally proscribed and to define their own ability to generate change in terms of limitations and obstacles. This was true of every role group from the superintendent and school committee to the building administration

and teachers. The superintendent candidly described his view of how change happens in schools.

It depends as much as anything on society itself. For example in the mid 70s priority went to the handicapped. This was not a (Blue Range) social change. This was external. In recent years, federal and state governments, departments of education, advocacy groups in the legislature have affected setting priorities. One of the most frustrating things for a superintendent or a school committee is your control of your priorities are sometimes taken away from you by mandated programs. Our priorities have to be reoriented to accommodate outside mandates. For example, we may have had plans for media innovations but these had to be set aside because resources were drained away to other areas like special education. Or outside funding sources change their priorities which changes ours. (I-010)

This view was repeated in so many words by members of every other role group.

I think it's a wait and see who tells us what to do way of setting priorities and making change and very often I would say it comes from the government. (I-011)

I use the imagery of the person walking with fire on both sides of them. They merely learn how to avoid the fire. They don't think about making a change. They just say 'well, hell, I don't want to get burned, you know. I have to pour a little water here, put a little money over there, fine.' But there's not a commitment, not an understanding, not a belief and therefore any change is superficial. (I-001)

Summary of the interview data. The following section summarizes the interview data presented in this section. The same categories as those used to summarize the observation data (Diagram 3) provide organization for this summary.

Institutional motivation. The interview data describe the initial perceptions held by various role groups in the system of the district's involvement with the CEE Project. The superintendent and school

committee members had a pressing need for advice on Title IX and how to implement sex equity because they were faced with legal complaints, community pressures, and government demands for compliance. They perceived the CEE Project as useful and valuable and as addressing a high priority need.

The majority of building administrators and teachers, however, appeared to be reluctant to take on the innovation and had misgivings about the additional demands it would place on them. Many administrators and some teachers believed they were already fair in their practices, a fact which they felt went unacknowledged by their superiors and the outside agencies and which they resented. Teachers, whether they were personally committed to sex equity or not, were suspicious of administrative motivation and tended to view it as opportunistic and reactive to external political pressures.

The planning of the project primarily involved CEE staff, the superintendent, and the Title IX Coordinator. Secondarily, the school committee, administrators, and some teachers were involved through the needs assessments. The rest of the district, including the majority of teachers, had no conception of an overall project or plan. Although the needs assessments attempted to involve all levels of the district in the planning process, this involvement appeared to be cursory and not clearly understood by participants. The teachers involved in the needs assessment characterized its purpose more as sharing the blame rather than sharing the decision making with a broad base of district members.

The examples given of previous innovation projects in this district indicated a history of top-down initiation and either pro forma or unsuccessful implementation. Both the implementation of Chapter 766 requirements for mainstreaming special education students and the change from a junior high to a middle school were described by district members as top-down initiated and opportunistically motivated. Teachers, students, parents, and community were not involved in these prior efforts to any great extent.

The social/psychological readiness of the system in terms of effective and valued channels of communication did not appear to exist to any large degree. Communication about the planned goals, purpose, and breadth of the CEE project, for example, appeared to be limited and contradictory. Teachers did not understand that it was a system-wide effort. Administrators did not understand that they were part of an administrative wide action plan. The cadre was barely visible as a continuation group.

All of these factors suggest that the long term prospects for the success of the CEE Project were limited almost from the outset. The initiation stage of the innovation fell somewhere between opportunism and top-down initiation as defined by Berman and McLaughlin and as such did not augur well for future success.

Implementation strategies. District member's perceptions of the outside consultants and of the staff training they received varied by role and initial interest in the project. The superintendent felt the most support by the project and valued his involvement with CEE. He was receiving regular and sustained help from two consultants

on issues that he identified as pressing. Thus, for him the technical assistance was timely, supportive, and relevant to his needs. The school committee was second in their positive assessment of the training and outside support. They too received information and assistance on issues which were currently demanding their attention.

Administrators tended to be neutral in their evaluations of the consultants and the training. They found the information interesting but not necessarily relevant to their role. They were somewhat critical of "being talked down to" and believed that system efforts to address the issues on their own had not been acknowledged.

Teachers had very mixed reactions to the consultants and the training. As they described it, a majority of teachers remained in the indifferent middle, with small groups of very positive and very negative teachers on either end of the spectrum. The majority, regardless of whether they received the information positively or negatively, tended to see less relevance to their actual classroom practices. They defined the results of training more in terms of awareness than action. The physical education and athletic staff were clearly frustrated by the consultants and the training and felt they needed more hands on, specific and direct advice to cope with the problems facing their role groups in implementing the requirements of Title IX.

Conceptual clarity in terms of understanding the purpose and implications of implementing sex equity system-wide was not achieved in the training. If the goal of the CEE Project was to generate actions to change inequities this goal was achieved in only a very few instances.

The major changes that occurred were in written district policies and documents. Translating these new policies into practice was not achieved in very many instances. Many individual members of the various role groups expressed increased awareness but most either did not know how or did not want to translate this awareness into action.

Dissemination of the project in terms of project visibility and focus appeared to be minimal at best. The cadre group was not widely acknowledged as a source of change and actions taken at the administrative or district management level to address inequities were not widely publicized or known about in the district.

Institutional leadership. The superintendent clearly expressed interest in the project during the interview. And his interest was clear to the school committee and building administrators. This interest and support was not, however, clear to teachers. They tended to describe him as remote and inactive. Administrators described his attendance at training sessions as "to keep an eye on people." They identified his support but interpreted his motivation as politically pressured.

The Project Coordinator, the Title IX Coordinator, was vested with much of the responsibility for the entire effort. Both the school committee and other administrators pointed to her existence in the system as evidence of action and success. They tended to refer the interviewer to her for any information related to sex equity. Teachers also viewed her as the sole person responsible for sex equity. They did not see her particularly as a leader and other administrators did not identify her as a leader either.

Although all of the building principals interviewed said they supported the implementation of sex equity in their buildings, few of them were perceived this way by teachers or by the Title IX Coordinator. They could not name any active efforts they had promoted in their buildings, were in disagreement or unclear about many project goals, and tended to minimize both the significance and the solvability of the problems identified by CEE and by the state audit.

Working relations among the staff as characterized in the interviews were not notably supportive or open. Many teachers commented on the inability of working together in the system, the divisions and hostility among certain staff and role groups, and the mistrust between role groups. The organizational structure was formally characterized by almost every person interviewed as "the chain of command." It was clear however, from members' statements that a covert process for input and decision making was relied upon and that faith in the formal process was not widespread. Miscommunication or lack of communication was common and might partially be attributed to the existence of this functioning but unacknowledged procedure which contradicted the formally identified *modus operandi*.

Many people in the district did not feel acknowledged for their efforts. Teachers gave examples of working on committees only to have their input disregarded. Administrators, too, felt their efforts with regard to sex equity went unnoticed. Even the school committee and superintendent expressed bitterness that the state did not note their efforts to achieve state mandated goals.

Teacher characteristics. Teachers expressed very little faith in their own power to effect change. They described being isolated, unsupported and cynical about the motivations of others in the system. They worried about their self-interest and identified this as not getting pushed into doing administrators' work for them and avoiding work on committees that were doomed to failure. What power they did have they attributed to the ability to close their classroom doors where they would be unobserved and uninterrupted by others.

External environment. The external environment in terms of the state department of education, the legislature, the town government, and community interest groups was perceived by many people from many role groups in the school district as hostile, unpredictable, and powerful. Many of the interviewees expressed feeling victimized by external demands and unable to control or manage their own priorities.

Steady state characteristics. The most striking steady state characteristic evidenced in the interviews is that related to the regulation of boundaries. This system appeared to be in a constant struggle to maintain its boundary integrity in the face of outside demands. The mechanisms for achieving this goal seemed to be stability as constraint, delivery uniformity, and loose coupling. In the face of external pressures the system seemed to rigidify and lock into a status quo resembling Berman and McLaughlin's maintenance steady state.

C H A P T E R V

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study examined the process of change in one school district through focusing on the efforts of a change agent group of teachers charged with continuation of a Title IX Project once federal support was withdrawn. This group, the cadre, had previously participated in in-depth training and had learned a process for continuing as a catalytic group in the district. In addition, the entire system had received a minimum of one day of training on Title IX issues and many role groups in the district had received two or three days of training. At the conclusion of federal involvement the cadre was enthusiastic about the process and prospects for continuing as a system-wide group who would collaborate on solving problems and generating actions to promote sex equity.

In the year following federal withdrawal, the cadre teachers were unable to sustain themselves as a viable group. They did not collaborate, generated no new action plans, and did not disseminate their knowledge to others in the district. The four meetings they did hold were initiated by an administrator, the Title IX Coordinator, and were focused on paperwork, bureaucratic accountability, and surface discussion of the issues.

This chapter examines one central question: How did an enthusiastic, creative, and committed training group transform so quickly

into a demoralized, dull, and complacent continuation group? This study suggests that the answer does not lie with individual personalities and shortcomings nor with the characteristics of the innovation itself, but is to be found in the interactional and organizational context within which the cadre struggled and eventually failed.

This chapter analyzes those patterns identified through observations and interviews in the district over a seven month period in the year following federal withdrawal. The first section summarizes and discusses the factors in this case which influenced the innovation process using the categories outlined in the review of the literature and summarized in Diagram 3. The second section briefly discusses the stages in the process of innovation as they occurred in Blue Range. The third section examines the interactional and organizational patterns identified in this case from the perspective of general systems theory and analyzes the failure of the innovation from this point of view.

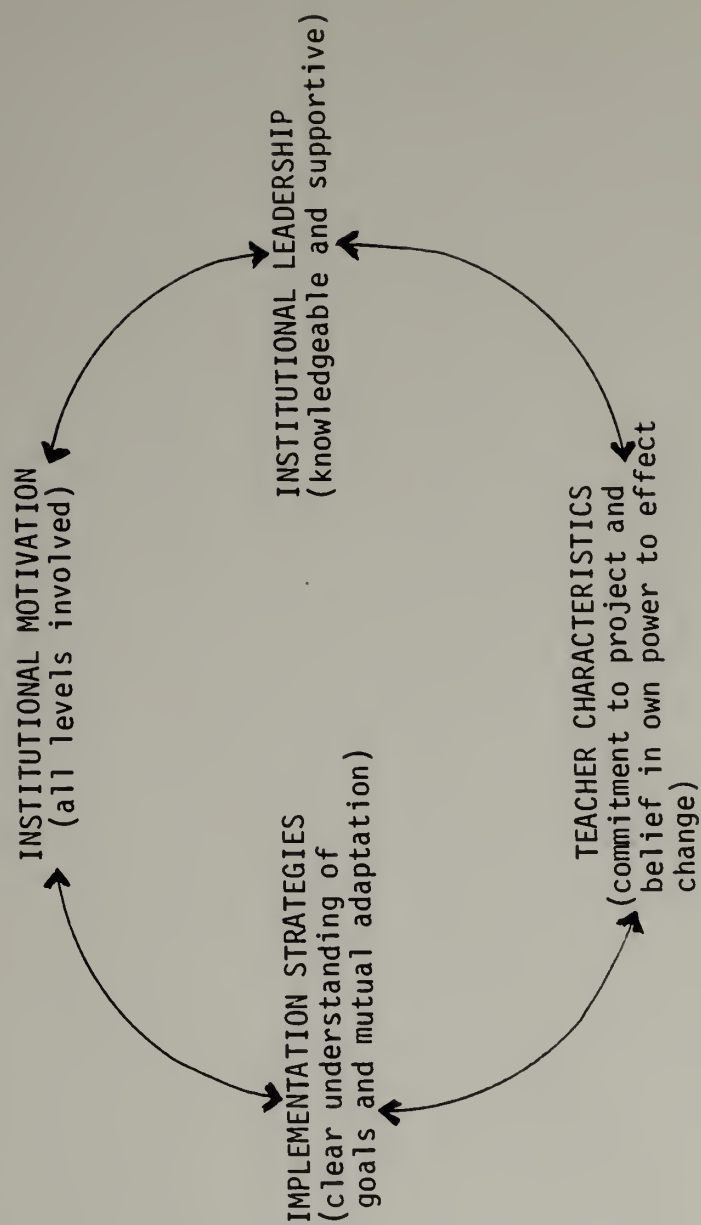
The section on implications focuses on what the study has to offer to future intervention efforts in schools. The value of a systems perspective on change and innovation is discussed in terms of the potential for intervening in maintenance systems and promoting development steady states. The conclusion section suggests the need for further research on the patterns which operate in the school culture and the provision of training from a systems perspective for change agents who could then appropriately join a system and effectively match interventions to system realities.

Discussion of Factors Affecting Innovation in this Case

The Rand Studies (1974-77) identified four categories as significant to the course of innovation in public schools. Institutional Motivation refers to the degree to which all levels in the district are committed to the innovation and involved in the process of initiating, implementing, and institutionalizing procedures to support the innovation. Implementation Strategies refers to the degree to which district members at all levels of the system understand project goals and practices and engage in a process of mutual adaptation in which the innovation and the district modify each other to match the conditions for change. Institutional Leadership refers to the degree to which district managers, building principals, and the project director actively promote project goals and provide institutional support for continuation in terms of resource commitment, recognition, and priority status. Teacher Characteristics refer to the degree to which teachers are committed to project goals and believe in their own power to effect change as reinforced by system patterns of support.

These categories can be conceptualized as mutually influential in determining the success or failure of an innovation. Each point in the cycle supports each other point and cannot be isolated from the whole. Examination of the degree to which all aspects of the cycle were addressed in the innovation process can help to explain the relative success or failure of a change project.

DIAGRAM 5: Cycle of Categories Affecting the Innovation Process



For example, in Blue Range participation in the project was perceived widely as opportunistic; building principals gave the project pro forma support with as little direct, personal involvement as possible; teachers perceived themselves as unsupported and therefore unlikely to make change; and the implementation strategies used were those that followed the path of least resistance. No single aspect can be defined as the cause of failure. Rather, this process should be understood as circular and mutually influencing.

This process is difficult to express in linear language. Teachers in Blue Range were cynical about the motives of district leaders and were unwilling to take action that might be perceived as the responsibility of administrators. This reinforced and was reinforced by administrators who viewed teachers as resistant to change and needing to be coerced. This attitude in turn reinforced and was reinforced by district leaders who initiated change in a top down manner which did not include teacher input in any but a superficial manner. This reinforced and was reinforced by implementation strategies which tended to be top down and superficial as well.

The point of looking at this process as cyclical is to understand the systemic nature of school behavior and the necessity for intervening at the level of underlying organizational and interactional patterns. Therefore, attempts at manipulating teacher characteristics in isolation, as was the case with the cadre training, will not succeed. Intervention must be directed at institutional leadership, institutional motivation, and implementation strategies as well. Effective

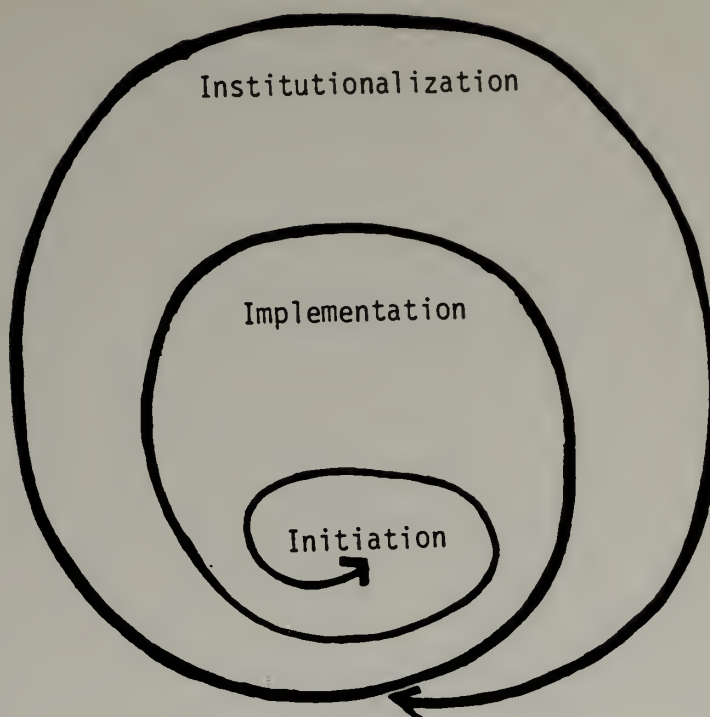
intervention requires a multi-level approach based on analysis of the system qua system and its core patterns to see how the system characteristically adapts to input requiring change.

Discussion of the Stages of Innovation

The Rand Studies identified three stages in the innovation process: initiation, implementation, and institutionalization. Initiation refers to the type of initial support given to a project and identifies four types: opportunism, top-down, grass-roots, and broad-based. Implementation refers to the degree to which the innovation and the setting are adapted to each other yielding changes in one or both. Three types are identified: non-implementation, cooptation (only the innovation is modified), and mutual adaptation (both the setting and the innovation are modified). Institutionalization refers to the degree of dual level support (district commitment) existing once outside support is withdrawn. This may take three forms: discontinuation, pro forma continuation, and institutionalized change (see Diagram 2).

Again, these three stages in the implementation process are not linear, discrete categories and may be better described as a mutually influencing spiral. The conditions which prevail at the initiation phase continue into the implementation and institutionalization phases. Thus, if as in Blue Range, initiation does not include a broad base of support, then it is unlikely that the commitment necessary for mutual adaptation or the dual level support necessary for institutionalization will exist either. At each phase, aspects of the other two phases

DIAGRAM 6: Spiral: The Stages of Innovation



are implicit. In order for institutionalization to occur after external supports are removed, a renewed mobilization of broad-based support must occur. If this condition existed in the first stage it is more likely to reemerge when needed in the third stage. If it did not occur in the first stage, it is unlikely to develop later.

In Blue Range, the initiation stage foreshadowed what would happen in the second two stages. The innovation did not achieve broad-based support from the outset, thus when federal agents withdrew there was no continued base of support to rely upon. Implementation had failed to modify the setting in any but the most superficial ways so that once federal support was withdrawn, the innovation itself had not been sufficiently integrated into district practices to support its continuation. In those instances where continuation did occur, only the innovation itself was modified. A few policies were rewritten at the central office level, some rules and regulations were modified, and teachers received new materials for their classrooms. The overall impact was minor alterations in some school or classroom procedures but little significant or lasting change in teaching or in school processes that affected the teacher's role.

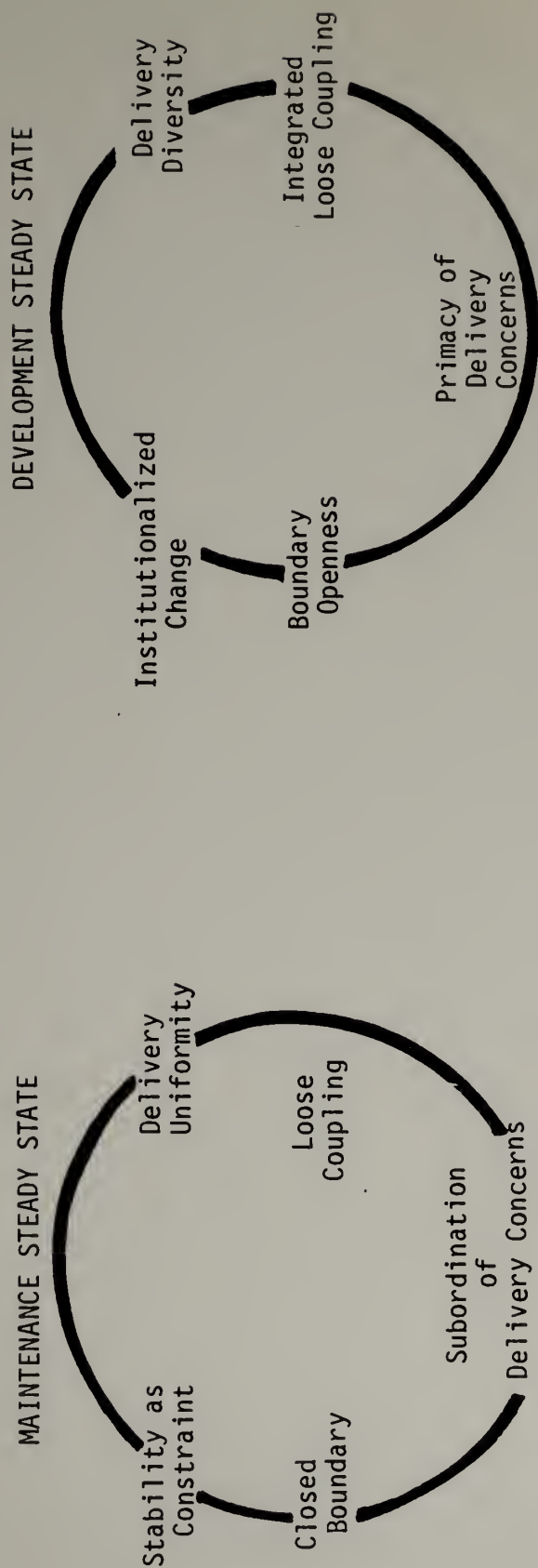
Understanding the factors which influence innovation and the stages of the innovation process helps to explain what happened in Blue Range after federal agents withdrew. These categories, however, do not explain how non-implementation occurred. The interactional and organizational patterns in the system must be examined in order to understand how the failure of this innovation effort occurred.

A System's Analysis of the Failure of an Innovation

Berman and McLaughlin's characterization of school districts as adaptive, open systems provides a beginning model for a system's analysis of school district behavior with regard to innovation and change. They identified two primary types of adaptive systems: maintenance systems and development systems. A maintenance system is characterized by adaptive characteristics that incorporate any demands for change into the current status quo. These systems do not change easily, even though they often may give the appearance of change. They operate in a conservative, bureaucratic manner; delivery concerns are subordinate to bureaucratic and political concerns; stability and uniformity are valued and emphasized; and the boundary with external systems is rigidly maintained. Information does not flow easily among subsystems and between the system itself and the outside world.

A development system on the other hand, is characterized by adaptive characteristics that allow flexibility in interactions with demands for change and yielding the ability to change when change is required for effective functioning. These systems have built in mechanisms for incorporating change, are flexible and responsive and operate in a proactive way to seek input for solving problems and improving practices. They are characterized by delivery diversity, integrated communication channels among subsystems, and between the system and the external environment. The boundary with the outside world is flexible and permeable. Information flows easily and appropriately between subsystems and with the outside world.

DIAGRAM 7: Steady State Characteristics of Maintenance and Development Systems



Blue Range can be characterized as a maintenance steady state. This district operated in such a way as to maintain its core internal arrangements in the face of external pressures to change. Blue Range gave the appearance of change while remaining organizationally the same. Various policies were rewritten, the problems were identified and action plans created, but the changes were all superficial and left the core institutional arrangements virtually unchanged. It is these arrangements or patterns which impeded the continuation of the cadre as a viable change agent group and which explain their failure in the year following withdrawal of federal support.

One way to make sense of how these organizational patterns operate to restrict innovation is to examine them in terms of the implicit rules they describe and the functions these rules play in maintaining particular patterns of relationship in the system. At each level of this district certain ways of relating among and between role groups had important consequences for the innovation process. These rules can be hypothesized from the typical patterns of interaction which occurred among and between role groups in Blue Range.

System rules which governed relationships in Blue Range. The data collected in Blue Range support the existence of several major rules which governed how system members interacted with each other and with the innovation process. These rules served to maintain the status quo in the face of external demands for change through defining and prescribing individual behavior and action in ways which ran counter to requisites for innovation.

The most striking pattern that emerged through observation of the cadre was the absolute resistance on the part of cadre teachers to training peers and disseminating their learnings as planned at the end of training. If this overt regularity were to be translated into a rule defining the normative relationship among teachers it might be stated as follows: "teacher-teacher relationships must be exactly equal, i.e., symmetrical" (Watzlawick, 1971). Such a rule minimizes any differences among teachers and maximizes their similarities and equality. When rigidly adhered to this rule prohibits teacher-teacher relationships from taking on either a teacher-teacher or leader-follower function which by definition are based on difference.

Thus, the collaborative problem-solving process which was at the base of the plan for continuation violated existing system rules of behavior. The collaborative problem-solving approach was effective during training because the outside consultant was in the position of teacher and the cadre teachers were in an equal learner-learner relationship to each other. Problems occurred when teachers were asked to take over the consultant's role and begin to train their peers. Once a teacher-learner relationship among peers was suggested, the process broke down. The alternative posed by the cadre teachers for receiving inservice funds which required peer training is consistent with this rule. Their suggestion was for each of them to take turns leading their own group thus maintaining a relationship defined by rigid equality, that of teacher/learner-teacher/learner.

In order for teachers to teach each other the underlying relational rule prohibiting such interaction must be altered. First, however, the

function of the rule and its connection to the rest of the system must be examined so that appropriate change strategies can be designed that deal with the multiple-levels of support for the rule. The function of this rule and others to be described will be speculated upon at the end of this section.

A second pattern which emerged through observation of the cadre was the Title IX Coordinator's consistent top-down leadership style at cadre meetings and the teachers' passive participation as followers. From this pattern a hypothesized rule governing relationships between teachers and administrators can be derived which might be worded as: "teacher-administrator relationships must be unequal, one-up-one-down relationships, i.e., complementary" (Watzlawick, 1971). Such a rule prevents collaboration between the two role groups on an equal basis and when rigidly adhered to dictates that administrators lead and teachers follow.

This rule explains why the cadre members were unable to alter the format of their meetings and use the collaborative process they had previously acquired in training. Such action would have violated the rule by placing teachers in a position of equal responsibility for conducting the meetings thus countering the underlying relational rule in inequality.

The Title IX Coordinator's isolation can also be explained as a function of these two rules. Her position, by definition, violated both rules. As a vice-principal and peer to other administrators, the rules of symmetry applied. However, her role as Title IX Coordinator placed her in a superior, i.e., complementary position

to her peers thus violating the rule and isolating her from her role group. As an administrator in relation to the cadre teachers, the rule of complementarity applied. However, her role as a member of the change agent group, defined as a collaborative effort, violated the rule of complementarity and resulted in furthering her isolation in the system.

The strength of these rules and the rigidity of system patterns were evidenced by her repeated failure to end her isolation. The more she tried to connect with teachers, the more isolated she became from her own role group and from them. The more isolated she became, the more she blamed her own role group and tried to connect with the teachers. This cycle fed her increasing isolation from both groups and in the end made her position untenable. There was evidence of tremendous pressure taking its toll on her morale and sense of competence.

Complementarity and symmetry in some combination govern all relationships. Healthy relationships are flexible enough to sustain a mixture and to flexibly adapt to the needs of the situation. In Blue Range, these rules were overly rigid and became dysfunctional. In educational settings it would seem to be important for teachers and administrators to learn from each other, to take leadership positions when necessary, and to be collaborators when necessary. This flexibility was not evident in Blue Range and prohibited the types of interaction required for the innovation to be integrated and sustained.

These rules functioned to maintain the status quo. It can be further hypothesized that the rules functioned to protect both teachers and administrators from challenges to their competence and from the difficulties of new ideas and role demands implied in the change process. Thus, the rules were mutually reinforcing in maintaining the system in the face of two decades of educational change. When viewed in this light it can be seen why change was resisted by both role groups as a threat to their institutionalized status. They became increasingly rigid in the face of a series of external interventions which reinforced the protectiveness and inflexibility of the system. These rules had implications for and were structurally reinforced by decision-making and authority patterns in the district.

Authority structure and decision-making. One of the most repeated phrases in the interviews with members of the district was "the chain of command." In Blue Range, this phrase was used to describe how the system functioned. The authority structure was overtly defined as a top-down hierarchy in which each level existed in complementary relation to the next level up or down. Information was described as flowing primarily in a top-down manner with some down-up flow through the proper channels. Decisions were primarily made and passed down through the chain from above. Teachers were described as having input through their administrators, who then passed this information up to the next level in the chain to be considered in decision making. Once a decision was made by top district officials, the superintendent and/or school committee, it

was passed down to administrators who passed down to teachers and so on down through the chain of command.

Yet descriptions of actual decision-making in Blue Range revealed a covert decision making process that contradicted and violated the formally identified chain of command. Teachers called school committee members "on the qt" and regularly circumvented two levels of the chain of command. Apparently building principals and other middle level managers such as the athletic director also had the ear of the school committee when they chose to go around the superintendent.

This standard operating procedure, acknowledged by many people in the interviews, illustrates a dysfunctional hierarchy. From a general systems perspective, the existence of a dysfunctional hierarchy implies the existence of covert conflict. In this case, it might be explained as a result of covert conflict between the superintendent and school committee.

The superintendent and school committee in Blue Range each placed themselves in charge of the other. The superintendent described the school committee as essentially a rubber stamp body for his decisions. The school committee on the other hand, described the superintendent as merely the administrative arm of the school committee charged with responsibility for carrying out their directives. This disagreement was not acknowledged by either group.

This unacknowledged conflict allowed other system members to play one off against the other when attempting to influence decisions. This conflict also meant that responsibility could be passed back

and forth and shifted to others. In fact, a pattern of shifting responsibility and denial or disconfirmation of responsibility and ability to act was evident at every level of the system. Teachers disqualified themselves as agents of change because they said they were not valued by administrators and parents. Administrators shifted responsibility to the superintendent, school committee, and teachers. The school committee and superintendent shifted responsibility to each other or to the teachers and administrators. The innovation was the object of this shifting and resulted in no one being committed to insuring continuation. Again, this pattern served the function of maintaining the status quo in the face of external demands for change. It allowed the system as a whole to resist external pressure without any one member or role group being singled out as obstructors of change. In this light, the pattern protected the system from blame.

Boundary with external systems. As Sarason has pointed out, no single proposal for change can be separated from all other proposals. So this change effort should be looked at in the context of other efforts at change in Blue Range. As described by district members in the interviews, the district had undergone two decades of outside interventions related to curriculum, special education, equity, and other legal and educational concerns. District members held a conviction that they no longer had control over their own priorities. This sense of being at the mercy of external forces impacted on the

Title IX Project and contributed to the lack of commitment to the project and cynicism about its potential effects.

The district's boundary with external systems was marked by resistance to new input and the attempt to rigidly maintain itself in the face of escalating pressures to change. There was evidence to believe that the boundary grew increasingly rigid the more outside intervention occurred. The system did not have a functional way to deal effectively with external input and to regulate its boundaries. This dysfunction mutually reinforced the hierarchial and communication problems that existed. A cycle was set up which reinforced the system's rigidity and maintenance patterns the more outside forces attempted to change. The more rigid the system became, the more outside agents saw the need for intervention. Thus, the very effort on the part of external change agents became part of maintaining the status quo. Truly, the more things changed, the more they stayed the same.

From this perspective, Proposition 2½ was yet another in a long line of outside interventions which was cycled through the system in recognizable and familiar ways to maintain the status quo. While 2½ was a powerful external force and had an undeniable impact on school morale, in the final analysis it did not cause the failure of the innovation examined in this study. Rather it placed in bold relief the patterns of maintenance which Blue Range applied to all external inputs requiring change and provided a different content area for examining the same interactional patterns identified in the system's response to the Title IX Project.

Implications

There are several implications of this study for change agents. A system's view of how school districts operate organizationally in relation to change shows both the difficulties and dangers of simplistic, linear attempts at change. A system's view also offers some useful directions for future interventions which take adequate account of the complexity involved in attempting system-wide change.

One clear implication from this study is that external interventions have the potential for violating a school system's boundaries in such a way as to contribute to increased rigidity and inability to incorporate change. It would seem to be important for a change agent to intervene in such a way that the system's boundaries can be flexibly maintained. Priorities must be shaped through an interaction between locally perceived needs and externally defined goals rather than imposed from outside in a uni-directional fashion. Federal legislation and commitment to increase civil rights and equity in education is critical, but will ultimately fail to effect the desired changes in schools if this change is not perceived as necessary and valid at the local level.

A second implication is that multi-level intervention strategies must be developed that genuinely cultivate broad-based support. In a district where top-down authority relations are the rule, such an intervention may require initial assistance and support in broadening communication and input channels before a particular innovation can be instituted. Without both district level support that is informed and knowledgeable and teacher commitment and efficacy at the classroom

level, any innovation seems likely to fail. Promoting the system conditions which will allow this dual level interaction and support would appear to be a valuable end in itself for change agents interested in improving school functioning and capacity to innovate.

It is important to pay attention to the history of innovation attempts and failures which has marked the past two decades and to acknowledge the cumulative effect on schools. It may be that current attention needs to be directed toward supporting the integrity of school system boundaries and developing capable leadership and teacher belief in their own effectiveness. Outside agents setting priorities for public schools defeat this purpose and ultimately their own goals. Effective results will be determined by the success of altering core internal arrangements in such a way as to lead to a development steady state; a built in capacity for taking in new information and proactively initiating and institutionalizing change when change is needed.

The challenge for change agents is to effectively join a system and help it to solve its own problems in ways that support and develop internal leadership and effective action. This type of intervention is in contrast to many previous efforts on the part of external agents to provide or impose solutions to externally perceived problems.

The characteristics of a development steady state posited by the Rand Study (1979) might be seen as goals for any intervention program. The chart (see Diagram 3) suggests an initial list of do's and don'ts for would be change agents. In addition, the systems

analysis begun in this study offers further information which can guide the innovation process regardless of content.

One absolutely crucial step is the initial needs assessment process. In order to be truly effective, the needs assessment requires a legitimate and detailed investigation into the currently perceived needs of the system from the perspective of all involved role groups. The change agent must have a clear understanding of the interactional patterns and underlying relational rules of the system in order to plan a multi-level intervention strategy that matches system realities. It is also important for all role groups in the system to perceive the change as related to their particular needs and goals from the very beginning of the project. This initial connection is critical to creating and maintaining broad-based support.

A second important step for change agents is to examine the system's adaptive patterns in the face of demands for change. Gathering a district's history with change and innovation can yield important information about typical patterns of interaction with change as well as point out what has failed in the past and should not be repeated in the current effort. An examination of a system's history with change can highlight role group interaction patterns and the rules which govern them as well as information about the functional authority structure and decision making process.

It may be that the term needs assessment should be redefined to include at least two levels of analysis: one, identification of the unique perceptions of every role group affected by a proposed project,

and, two, assessment of the underlying relational rules of the system. The first level functions as a joining tool to assure that district members are acknowledged and their needs respected. The second level functions as a planning tool to avoid individual blame and to design interventions that address the interactional and organizational patterns which mediate the change process.

These two steps alone provide the groundwork for designing appropriate interventions which can effectively match the reality of current district patterns and potentials. A clear and effective procedure for initial analysis and joining lays the foundation for every other step in the innovation process. It also seems to be important to focus on process instead of content of a change. A specific content change such as Title IX needs to be closely joined to perceived problems facing a district and matched to effective functioning in general. The more closely an innovation can be tied to the district's own perceptions of what is needed, the more likely it will be to succeed. Beyond that, the district as an open, adaptive system must be encouraged and supported in developing steady state characteristics that allow for proactive incorporation of change on an ongoing basis.

Conclusions

Further studies aimed at helping us understand the culture of the school and the organizational patterns which govern interactions among and between role groups and which examine the authority and decision making structure in operation are needed. There is a great

need to identify and understand the underlying rules which govern normative behavior in schools. Much more knowledge is needed about the typical ways that school districts adapt to change and innovation so that future interventions can be matched and directed to increasing a system's flexibility and adaptability.

General systems theory offers valuable tools to change agents for examining the system as a whole and the circular patterns which support its status quo so that appropriate interventions can be designed. General systems theory provides an informed vision for avoiding the pitfalls of linear thinking and naive innovation attempts that leave the core internal arrangements of schools unchanged and/or that contribute to increased rigidity in the face of necessary demands for change.

Special attention needs to be paid to maintenance systems, the patterns which reinforce them and potential methods for intervening that could lead them to become development systems capable of generating and flexibly adapting to change. It is obvious from this study that the process of change is difficult and not easily controlled or instituted in schools. It is hoped by this investigator that the discussion included will lead to further efforts to understand the complexity of the change process in the culture of public schools so that future interventions may be more effectively designed and implemented and so that they may contribute to the development of schools as systems which are internally directed toward the ongoing development and renewal of their own capacities.

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APPENDIX A

Correspondence with District



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01003

August 31, 1981

Dear Mr.

This letter is to confirm and spell out more specifically my proposal, as discussed with (the Title IX Coordinator) for following up the Equal Education Project with an observational study of the group's ongoing efforts during the 1981-82 school year. This study would be part of my dissertation at the University of Massachusetts and would focus on the process by which new ideas and programs are implemented in a school district.

I am attaching an overview of the purpose of the study, the procedures I would like to follow, and the terms of the research agreement I would like to make with the (Blue Range) School System. If you have questions about any of my requests or further conditions you would like to have met, I will be happy to discuss these at your convenience.

When the study is completed I will share with you a written summary of my observations and conclusions. At this time I would also like to sit down with the group for an informal evaluation of the project and discussion of possibilities and recommendations for future action.

I am looking forward to continuing a productive relationship with the (Blue Range) School System and the Equal Education Committee. I hope that my study can make a contribution to your continued efforts as an innovative district.

Thank you for your time and support.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lee A. Bell".

Lee A. Bell

Attachment
 cc: (Title IX Coordinator)

RESEARCH PROPOSAL
TO STUDY THE WORK OF THE EQUAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE
(BLUE RANGE) PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the proposed in-depth case study is to examine the process by which the ongoing Equal Education Committee introduces and implements new ideas and programs in the district, and to identify to what extent skills and ideas from the CEE Project are carried over and utilized by the committee during the ensuing year.

Requirements of the Study

1. Permission to observe meetings and implementation activities which are part of the Equal Education Committee's work, such as planning sessions, classroom innovations, in-service workshops, etc.
2. One to two hour interviews about the project with participants concurrent with the observation period.
3. Access to documents that are related to the project, such as memos, letters, minutes, announcements, action plans, etc.
4. Opportunity to interview a sample of administrators and teachers who are not participants and are willing to be interviewed about the project.

Research Agreement

1. Observations and interviews will be conducted so as not to disrupt school business or inconvenience school personnel.

2. Each participant will be approached individually to request their consent to be involved in the study. The right of any individual to refuse involvement in the study will be respected.
3. Participants may decide to withdraw at any time during the study.
4. All data, conversations, and interviews will be kept confidential.
5. A summary of research observations and conclusions will be made available to the district upon completion of the study.

Proposed Time Line of Research Activities

September 1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Attend first meeting of Equal Education Committee to explain study and request consent. -Begin observations to orient researchers. -Schedule interviews with participants.
October 1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Continue observations as committee's work dictates. -Conduct interviews with participants.
November 1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Continue observations. -Continue interviews with participants. -Schedule interviews with non-participants.
December 1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Continue observations. -Conduct interviews with non-participants.
January 1982	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Continue observations. -Continue interviews.
February 1982	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Conclude interviews and intensive observation period.
March-April 1982	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Intermittent observations as needed for clarification. -Examine and summarize results of study.
May 1982	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Meet with participants to share and discuss results, conclusions, questions, and possibilities for future action. -Submit written summary of research to committee and Superintendent's office.



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01003

August 31, 1981

Dear Committee Member:

I am interested in conducting a dissertation study in the (Blue Range) Public School System that would follow up the work you began last year in the Equal Education Project. The purpose of the proposed in-depth case study is to examine the process by which the ongoing Equal Education Committee introduces and implements new ideas and programs in the district, and to see the extent to which skills and ideas from the CEE Project are carried over and utilized by the committee during the ensuing year.

This letter is to explain what I would need from you and to request your consent to participate in the study. A decision to participate would mean the following:

1. Agreeing to be observed during meetings of the Equal Education Committee and during implementation activities such as classroom innovations, in-service workshops, etc.
2. Agreeing to be interviewed a maximum of two times for one hour each time.
3. Sharing documents related to the project, such as memos, minutes, announcements, action plans, etc.
4. Participating in a final evaluation meeting at the end of the school year (optional).

Every effort will be made to schedule interviews at your convenience and to conduct observations in such a way that school and classroom routines are not disrupted. If you agree to participate in this study, all information you provide will be kept confidential. The results will be grouped and reported as a whole or reported anonymously. You may withdraw from the research project at any time. A summary of the research observations and conclusions will be made available during the evaluation meeting at the end of the school year.

Members of the Equal Education Committee

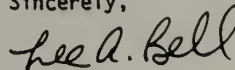
Page 2

August 31, 1981

I am enthusiastic about the opportunity to follow up the exciting work you began last year. In fact, I anticipate one of my initial difficulties will be taking on and maintaining an observer role. I will be asking for your help in making this transition from the more active role I played last year as project coordinator. I hope that the results of this study will contribute to your continued efforts as innovative educators.

Thank you for your cooperation and support.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lee A. Bell". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Lee A. Bell

If you are willing to participate in this research project, please indicate by signing below.

I, the undersigned, agree to be observed by and to provide information to Lee Bell for purposes of dissertation research. I am aware that any data I provide will be kept confidential and that I may withdraw from participation at any time.

Date

Signature



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01003

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

November 3, 1981

Dear

I will be in touch with you during the weeks of November 2-15 to set up the interviews I requested when we met in September. These interviews will examine the sex equity project you participated in last year. They will be scheduled completely at your convenience and will last no more than one hour.

In addition to the interviews, I would like to observe any activities related to sex equity that occur in the (Blue Range) Public Schools between November and March. In order to know when an observable activity is taking place I need your help. In September I thought you would be meeting regularly and that I could attend your meetings to find out about sex equity so that I may observe that activity for my research. This might include, but is not limited to, any of the following:

- a meeting between any group of teachers, administrators, or students;
- a classroom activity;
- a school wide activity;
- a meeting of faculty, department, school board, union, etc.
- a parent conference, PTA, or other community meeting;
- an extra-curricular or student run activity;
- any other activities related to sex equity in your school system.

I want to know about them even if I've already missed them or it's too late for me to come observe. I'm sure I've left out other possibilities that you might suggest for observation. I will appreciate any suggestions you could give me.

I realize the effort this will require of you and I would like to thank you in advance for your tips, your consideration of my proposal, and your support for my research.

I am looking forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Lee A. Bell

Lee A. Bell

APPENDIX B

Observation Guide
Interview Guide
Data Triangulation Guide
Interview Schedule

OBSERVATION GUIDE

Institutional Motivation

Patterns of participation in equity related activities--who participates and how, who does not participate?
 Access to resources
 Persistence
 Visibility
 Outreach
 Reward/Recognition for efforts
 Difficulties/obstacles encountered

Implementation Strategies

Focus of interventions--classroom, policy level, administrative, curriculum, teacher/student behavior
 Tasks and goals established
 Decision making processes used
 Use of project ideas and materials
 Knowledge of sex equity issues
 Frequency of interactions among cadre members/between cadre members and others
 Quality of interactions among cadre members/between cadre members and others
 Dissemination strategies used/rejected

Institutional Leadership

Statements by central office staff of school and system goals and priorities
 Status of Title IX Coordinator, access to resources, information, top district officials
 Status of cadre members, access to resources, information, administrative support
 Communication channels used/avoided

Teacher Characteristics

Commitment/energy/amount of time spent on equity related issues
 Follow through/status of action plans/persistence
 Effectiveness/successful implementation of action plans
 Integration of ideas, concepts and materials into other areas of the curriculum
 Amount of interaction/discussion with others outside of project
 Belief in ability to effect change
 Attitude about administrative support or nonsupport

External Environment

Current issues facing district--budget, personnel, educational, political, legal
 Interaction with outside groups--town committees, state department, federal agents
 Amount of discussion about external systems/events

Steady State Characteristics

Degree of variance in teaching styles, curriculum, educational philosophy
 Amount of interaction, communication between buildings and with central office
 Focus of concerns in staff meetings, school committee meetings, informal conversations--educational issues, political issues, administrative issues, etc.
 Proactive or reactive relations with other role groups, other systems
 Response to demands for change--open or closed, rigid or flexible.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. General Information

- a. date
- b. name
- c. gender and age
- d. total years in district
- e. current position, how long?
- f. other positions held, how long?

II. Introduction

- a. purpose of interview
- b. confidentiality
- c. permission to audiotape
- d. interview procedure
- e. concerns of respondent

III. Questions

(Institutional)

1. How did you first find out about the CEE Project in your district?
2. From whom did you first learn about the project?
3. When did you first learn about the project?
4. When you first heard about the CEE project in Blue Range, what did you think was its purpose?
5. When you first heard about the project, how did you think it would affect you or your job? Explain.
6. When you first heard about the project, how important did you think it was to top officials in the district? How did you know this?

(Implementation Strategies)

7. List all the contacts/training events you attended.
8. How did you come to participate in (particular event)?
9. What did you think were the goals and purpose of (particular event)?
10. What relevance did the training have to your professional role?
11. How did those around you evaluate the training? Evidence?
12. At the time of this training event did you have any plans to change or modify your attitudes or behavior as a result of the training? Describe plan, if any, or why change was not considered.

(Teacher Characteristics)

13. Are you currently doing anything new or different as a result of your involvement in this project? Explain.
14. Do you currently see any of your colleagues doing anything new or different as a result of involvement in this project? Explain.

(Institutional Leadership)

15. How much support do you think exists in this system currently for implementation of sex equity? How do you know this? Compare to last year.
16. Rank order from most to least supportive of sex equity: administrators, teachers, students, parents, school committee, superintendent. Explain.
17. What factors are most likely to prevent the implementation of sex equity in this district?
18. What factors are most likely to increase sex equity in this district?
19. What would you say are the top priorities of this district now?
20. Who sets priorities in this district? Who has input?
21. Rank order from most to least influential in setting priorities: parents, teachers, administrators, students, school committee, superintendent. Explain.

(Steady State Characteristics)

22. How have priorities changed in this district over the time you have been here?
23. Give one example of a change you have observed in this district. Who initiated it? How? What were the results?

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION - TRIANGULATION

		OBSERVATIONS	INTERVIEWS	DOCUMENTS
SENSITIZING CONCEPTS Sustaining and Extending Factors Influencing Innovation	Institutional Motivation	<p>Patterns of participation in equity-related activities--who participates and how?</p> <p>Access to resources</p> <p>Persistence</p> <p>Visibility</p> <p>Outreach</p> <p>Reward/recognition for efforts</p>	<p>How did you first find out about the CEE project in your district?</p> <p>From whom did you first find out?</p> <p>When did you first learn about the project?</p> <p>When you first heard about project in Blue Range, what did you think was its purpose?</p> <p>How did you think it would affect you or your job?</p> <p>How important did you think it was to top officials in this district?</p>	<p>Memos from central office</p> <p>Stated system priorities</p> <p>Needs Assessment</p> <p>School Committee agendas</p> <p>Budget</p> <p>Announcements of the CEE Project</p>
	Implementation Strategies	<p>Focus of interventions</p> <p>Tasks and goals established</p> <p>Decision making processes used</p> <p>Use of project ideas and materials</p> <p>Knowledge of sex equity issues</p> <p>Quality of interactions among cadre members/with others</p> <p>Dissemination strategies used/rejected</p>	<p>What events did you participate in? How?</p> <p>What did you think were the goals and purpose of (particular event)?</p> <p>What relevance did the training have to your professional role?</p> <p>How did those around you evaluate the training?</p> <p>What plans to change did you have as a result of the training? Explain.</p>	<p>Cadre agendas and minutes</p> <p>Planning books</p> <p>Curriculum materials</p> <p>Memos</p> <p>Training session feedback sheets</p>
SENSITIZING CONCEPTS Sustaining and Extending Factors Influencing Innovation	Institutional Leadership	<p>Statements by central staff about system priorities</p> <p>Status of Title IX coordinator, access to resources, information and top district officials</p> <p>Status of cadre members, access</p> <p>Communication channels used/avoided</p>	<p>How much support do you think exists in this system for sex equity?</p> <p>Rank order from most to least supportive of sex equity: parents, students, teachers, administrators, school committee, superintendent</p> <p>What factors are most likely to impede implementation of sex equity here?</p> <p>What factors are most likely to encourage the implementation of sex equity here?</p> <p>What would you say are the top priorities of the district now?</p> <p>Who sets priorities? How? Rank order in terms of influence: parents, teachers, students, school committee, etc.</p>	<p>Staff meeting agendas and minutes</p> <p>Statements of purpose and priority</p> <p>Standard written communication procedures</p>
	Teacher Characteristics	<p>Commitment/energy/time spent on equity related issues</p> <p>Follow through/status of action plans/persistence</p> <p>Effectiveness/Success</p> <p>Integration of project ideas and materials into other areas</p> <p>Amount of interaction/discussion with others on equity related issues</p> <p>Belief in ability to effect change</p> <p>Attitude about administrative support or non-support</p>	<p>Are you currently doing anything new or different as a result of your involvement in the project?</p> <p>Do you currently see others doing anything new or different as a result of involvement in the project.</p>	<p>Lesson plans</p> <p>Curriculum materials</p>
SENSITIZING CONCEPTS Sustaining and Extending Factors Influencing Innovation	External Environment	<p>Current issues facing the district: budget, personnel, educational, political, legal</p> <p>Interaction with outside systems: town committee, state agencies, federal agencies</p> <p>Amount of discussion about external systems</p>	<p>What external factors affect priorities in this district?</p> <p>What external influences will affect the implementation of sex equity in this district?</p>	<p>State audit</p> <p>System's written response to the audit.</p>
	State Characteristics	<p>Degree of variance in teaching styles, curriculum, educational philosophy</p> <p>Amount of interaction, communication, between buildings and with central office</p> <p>Focus of concern in staff meetings, school committee meetings, informal conversation - educational, political, administrative</p> <p>Proactive or reactive relations with other role groups, other systems</p> <p>Response to demands for change, open or closed, rigid or flexible</p>	<p>How have priorities changed in this district over the time you've been here?</p> <p>Give an example of a change you have observed in the district. Who initiated it? How? What were the results?</p> <p>If you were going to introduce a change, how would you go about it? What would insure success? What would you avoid?</p> <p>How do you think this district will change over the next five years? Stay the same? Where will sex equity be in five years?</p>	<p>Goals statements</p> <p>Formal authority structure</p> <p>Statements of priority and goals</p> <p>Procedural documents</p>

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
NOTES AND RELEVANT COMMENTS

I. General Information

Name _____
Gender _____ Age _____
Total Years in District _____

Code _____
Date _____
Current Position _____ Years Held _____
Other Positions _____ Years Held _____

II. Description of setting, observer comments:

III. Initiation to CEE Project

1. How did you first find out about the CEE Project?
 - a. memo
 - b. staff meeting
 - c. personal contact
 - d. other
2. From whom did you first learn about the project?
 - a. superintendent
 - b. building principal
 - c. Title IX coordinator
 - d. teacher
3. When did you first learn about the project?
 - a. fall 1978
 - b. spring 1979
 - c. summer 1979
 - d. fall 1980
4. When you first heard about the CEE Project, what did you think was its purpose?
 - a. curriculum change
 - b. school policies
 - c. employment practices
 - d. teacher behavior
 - e. student behavior
 - f. other
5. When you first heard about the CEE Project, how did you think it would affect you or your job? Why?
 - a. no effect
 - b. curriculum change
 - c. attitude change
 - d. behavior change
 - e. other
6. When you first heard about the project, how important did you think it was to this district? Why?
 - a. no real importance
 - b. token importance
 - c. somewhat important
 - d. Very important

IV. Description and Evaluation of Training

7. List all contacts or training events you attended:
 - a. needs assessment
 - b. central office meetings
 - c. school committee
 - d. admin. & guidance
 - e. advanced guidance trng.
 - f. student council
 - g. teachers and aids
 - h. cadre
 - i. final mtg. w/supt.
 - j. other

-
8. For each event, how did you come to participate?
- a. invited
 - b. required
 - c. volunteered
9. For each event, what did you think were the goals and purpose? How did you know this?
- a. to increase awareness of inequity
 - b. to assure compliance with the law
 - c. to improve teaching practices
 - d. to revise curriculum
 - e. to facilitate problem solving
 - f. other
10. What relevance did the training have to you in your professional role? Describe any useful learnings, ideas, materials, what was and was not useful, etc.
- a. no relevance
 - b. somewhat relevant
 - c. very relevant
- List materials or ideas used.
11. How did those around you evaluate the training? What comments were made, what differences or opinion existed?
- a. unfavorable
 - b. neutral
 - c. somewhat favorable
 - d. very favorable

V. Evaluation of District Commitment

12. As a result of the training did you have any plans to change or modify attitudes or behavior? Describe your plans or why change was not considered.
- a. no plans to change
 - b. plans to change
- reason:
describe:
13. Are you currently doing anything new or different as a result of your involvement in the equity project?
- a. no.
 - b. yes: curriculum
behavior
awareness
class rules
language
other
14. Do you currently see any of your colleagues doing anything new or different as a result of the project?
- a. no.
 - b. yes: curriculum
behavior
awareness
class rules
language
other

15. How much commitment do you think exists in this system currently for implementation of sex equity? How do you know this? Compare to last year.

<u>Now</u>	<u>Last Year</u>	<u>Evidence Given</u>
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- a. no commitment
b. token commitment
c. obvious commitment

16. Rank order from most to least supportive of sex equity?

<u>administrators</u>	<u>teachers</u>	<u>parents</u>
<u>students</u>	<u>superintendent</u>	
<u>athletic staff</u>	<u>school committee</u>	
<u>other group</u>		

17. What factors are most likely to prevent the implementation of sex equity in this district?

- a. attitudes of individuals
b. cost of implementation
c. lack of knowledge
d. other priorities
e. lack of commitment
f. other

18. What factors are most likely to promote the implementation of sex equity in this district?

- a. outside pressure
b. teacher involvement in change process
c. administrative support
d. money to implement projects
e. leadership
f. other

VI. District Patterns of Adaptation

19. What would you say are the top priorities of this district at the present time?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| a. budgetary considerations | g. equity |
| b. quality of teaching | h. other |
| c. basic competencies | |
| d. accountability | |
| e. good public relations | |
| f. academic excellence | |

20. Who sets priorities in this district? Who has input?

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| a. superintendent | e. school committee |
| b. parents | f. teachers |
| c. students | f. other |
| d. building principals | |

21. Rank order from most to least influential in setting priorities:

<u>teachers</u>	<u>parents</u>	<u>students</u>
<u>school committee</u>	<u>superintendent</u>	
<u>building principals</u>	<u>athletic dept.</u>	<u>other</u>

22. How have priorities changed in this district over the time you've been here? What determined the change?

- a. no change Examples:
b. very little change
c. some change
d. a lot of change

-
23. Give one example of a change you have observed or participated in in this district. Who initiated it and what were the results?
24. If you were going to introduce a change in this district, what chain of command would you follow? How would you go about it? What would you avoid at all costs?
25. How do you think this district will change over the next five years? Stay the same? Where will sex equity be in five years?
26. How do you think _____ (another role) would have responded to the questions about priorities and influence? (Pick a sample of questions to ask from this perspective).
- a. same perspective
 - b. somewhat different perspective
 - c. very different perspective

APPENDIX C

List of Documents

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

- D-1 Memo to cadre from superintendent, Spring 1981
- D-2 Final Report: Equal Education Project, Blue Range Public Schools February-June 1981
- D-3 Training agendas for all sessions 1979-1981
- D-4 Memo from Title IX Coordinator to Cadre Teachers announcing September planning meeting, September 1981
- D-5 Self-Assessment Instrument/Chapter 622 Program Review, Commonwealth of Massachusetts Department of Education, 1981
- D-6 Audit Report, Department of Education, Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity, Chapter 622 District Review, LEA: Blue Range, November 1980
- D-7 Letter to State Chapter 622 Coordinator from Blue Range Title IX Coordinator listing administrator comments on the Title IX/622 Audit Report, November 1980
- D-8 Memo to Blue Range faculties from Title IX Coordinator regarding meeting to complete annual assessment, January 1982
- D-9 Memo to cadre members from Title IX Coordinator announcing meeting to review assessments and plan next steps, January 1982

